Finnur Jónsson has pointed out[1] that the author was familiar with the diction of the *Edda* poems. Cf. str. 6^{3} with *Völuspá*, str. 41^{3}; str. 6^{2} with *Hávamál*, str. 1^{4}, 38^{3}, *Fáfnismál*, str. 24^{1}; str. 7^{2} with *Hárbarþsljóþ*, str. 9^{3}, *Vafþrúþnismál*, str. 3^{4}. The metre of the poem is the *Ljóðaháttr* except in str. 1, which is in the *Málaháttr*.

With the exception of strophes 1 and 2 this poem is preserved only in the *Fagrskinna*[2] (cf. pp. 73 ff. and 81, above), and indeed only in those MSS. which are derived from the later of the two vellums (A). In the MSS. derived from B there is a lacuna at this point. The first five lines are preserved also in the *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 2.

[1] *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1894), Vol. I, p. 452.

[2] Ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1902-3), pp. 28—30.

umbria, was driven out and killed by Maccus, the son of Anlaf. Thereupon the Northumbrians submitted to King Eadred who gave the province to Earl Osulf. Matthew Paris, who wrote three hundred years after these events, but who evidently had access to authorities now lost, states[1] that King Eilricus was treacherously slain, with his son Haericus and his brother Reginaldus, in a desert called Steinmor, by the 'Consul' Maco, through treachery on the part of Earl Osulf.

The Anlaf mentioned by Symeon of Durham is doubtless the Olaf who is said in the Norse authorities to have killed Eric, and we have no reason for doubting that he was the famous Olaf Cuaran[2]. But the affair in which Eric lost his life would seem to have been an ambush rather than a battle. Perhaps on resigning the throne he had been given a safe-conduct by Earl Osulf of Bamborough, who had subsequently betrayed him to his enemy. The scene of the massacre was evidently on the Roman road from York to Carlisle, not far from Kirkby Stephen. It may be observed that though the English authorities give no hint of a real battle, they confirm in two cases the evidence of the sagas as to the persons killed[3].

In the *Fagrskinna*, ch. 7, it is stated that the poem which follows was composed at the request of Queen Gunnhildr, Eric's widow, who retired to the Orkneys and resided there for some time after Eric's death[4]. Subsequently the Queen with her sons made her way to Denmark, where they received protection from Harold Blue-tooth, and whence they made frequent attempts to wrest the kingdom of Norway from Haakon.

The poem is obviously incomplete. Of the author nothing is known, though we may doubtless assume that he was one of Eric's followers. It may have been composed in Orkney shortly after the news of the disaster became known; at all events it can hardly be many years later, since Eyvindr Finnsson's *Hákonarmál* (cf. p. 104 ff. below) is evidently modelled on it.

[1] *Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series), Vol. I, *sub ann.* 950.
[2] Cf. p. 62 ff. above.
[3] I.e. Hárekr and Rögnvaldr. Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4.
[4] *Ib.* ch. 5.

Finnur Jónsson has pointed out[1] that the author was familiar with the diction of the *Edda* poems. Cf. str. 6^{3} with *Völuspá*, str. 41^{3}, str. 6^{1} with *Hávamál*, str. 1^{4}, 38^{3}, *Fáfnismál*, str. 24^{1}; str. 7^{3} with *Hárbarþsljóþ*, str. 9^{5}, *Vafþrúþnismál*, str. 3^{4}. The metre of the poem is the *Ljóðaháttr* except in str. 1, which is in the *Málaháttr*.

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[1] *Den Oldnorske og Oldislandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1894), Vol. I, p. 452.
[2] Ed. F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1902–3), pp. 28—30.

THE EIRÍKSMÁL

1 'Hvat er þat[1] drauma[2],' qvað Oðenn, 'er ek[3] hugðumk
firi dag lítlu[4],
Valhöll riðja[5] firi vegno folki?
Vacta ec einherja, bað ec uprísa
becki at strá, borðkær[6] at lyðra,
valkyrjur vín bera, sem vísir come.
Er mér[7] ór heimi höllda vánir
göfgra nöccora, svá er mér glatt hjarta.

2 'Hvat þrymr þar, Bragi, sem þúsund bivizt
eþa mænge til mikit?'
'Braka all beccþili sem muni Balldr coma
eptir í Óðins sale.'

3 'Heimsco mæla,' qvað Oðinn, 'scallt þu, hinn horski Bragi,
þó at þú væl hvat vitir.
Fyr *Æiríki*[8] glymr, er hér mun inn koma
jöfurr í Óðinns sale.

4 'Sigmundr oc Sinfjatli, rísit snarlega,
oc gangit í *gögn*[9] grame;
inn þú bjóð ef Æiríkr sé;
hans er mér nú vón vituð.'

5 'Hví er þér Æiríks vón,' kvað Sigmundr, 'hælldr enn
annara kononga?'
'Því at margu lannde,' sagðe Óðenn, 'hann hevir mæki
roðet,
oc blóðoct sværð borit.'

6 'Hví namt þu hann sigri þá er þér þótti hann snjallr
vera?'
'Því at óvíst er at vita,' sagðe Óðenn,
'sér ulfr enn hösve á sjöt goða.'

[1] *þet* A 2. [2] *dæma* Cod. Sn. E 757. [3] om. Cod. Sn. E 757.
[4] *risa* Codd. Sn. E. [5] *riðri* A 2; *a* added above the line in A.
[6] Cod. Ups.; *borkær* A. [7] *me* A 2. The *r* has been added later in A.
[8] em. Munch and Unger; *Æiríkr* ms. [9] em. Munch and Unger; *gongo* A.

THE EIRÍKSMÁL

1 'What dream is this?' said Othin, 'a little before daylight I thought I was preparing Valhöll for a slain host. I was awakening the einherjar, and bidding them rise up and cover the benches and cleanse the beakers—I was bidding the Valkyries bring wine as if a prince was coming. I have hope of some noble heroes from the world; so my heart is glad.

2 'What uproar is that, Bragi, as if thousands were in motion —an exceeding great host approaching?'
'All the timbers of the benches are creaking as if Balder were coming back to Othin's abode.'

3 'Surely thou art talking folly, thou wise Bragi,' replied Othin, 'although thou knowest everything well. The noise betokens the approach of the hero Eric, who must be coming here into Othin's abode.

4 'Sigmundr and Sinfjötli! Arise quickly and go to meet the prince. If it be Eric, invite him in! I have now confident hope that it is he.'

5 'Why dost thou hope for Eric rather than for other kings?' asked Sigmundr.
'Because he has reddened his sword in many a land,' replied Othin, 'and carried a bloodstained blade.'

6 'Why hast thou robbed him of victory when thou knewest him to be valiant?'
'Because it cannot be clearly known,' replied Othin — 'The grey wolf is gazing upon the abodes of the gods.'

7 'Hæill þú nú, Æiríkr,' kvað Sigmundr, 'væl scalt þú
hér kominn!
oc gack í höll, horscr!
Hins vil ec þic fregna: hvat fylgir þér
jöfra frá eggþrymu?'

8 'Konongar eru v,' sagþi Eiríkr, 'kænni ec þér nöfn[1]
allra;
ec em hinn sétti sjalfr.'

[1] em. Munch and Unger; *namfn* A.

7 'Hail now to thee, Eric!' cried Sigmundr, 'Welcome shalt thou be here! Enter our hall, wise (prince)! One thing I would ask thee: What heroes attend thee from the roar of battle?'

8 'There are five kings (here),' said Eric, 'I will make known to thee the names of all. I am the sixth myself.'

X. THE HÁKONARMÁL

Haakon I, commonly called the Good, was one of the youngest, if not the youngest, of the sons of Harold the Fairhaired. The circumstances of his birth and death are curiously picturesque. He is said[1] to have been born on a rock (called 'Haakon's Rock'), on the shore where the ship, on which his mother was travelling to visit King Harold, was anchored for the night.

While still a child, Haakon was sent to England where he was brought up as a Christian by Aethelstan. Whatever may be thought of the details of the story as given in the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 39, there is no need to doubt the main fact. Harold's relations with Aethelstan are recorded also by William of Malmesbury[2].

In the year after his father's death (cf. p. 93 above), Haakon made his way to Norway, and, before twelve months had elapsed, succeeded in expelling his brother Eric (in 935). He reigned prosperously for over twenty-five years, and was an exceedingly popular king, though his efforts to introduce Christianity proved a failure. Towards the end of his reign, several attempts were made at conquest by the sons of Eric[3]. On the last occasion, as King Haakon was being entertained at Fitje in the Island of Storð (Stordo), news was brought that a mighty fleet was at hand. The king armed himself in his corselet, and girt himself with his sword Quernbiter; he put a gold helmet on his head, took up his shield and halberd, and proceeded to array his men. A fierce fight now took place.

'King Haakon was more easily recognised than other men and his helmet glittered when the sun shone on it. The fray was very fierce around him. Then Eyvindr Finnsson took a hood and drew it over the King's helmet, whereupon one of

[1] *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 37.
[2] *Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Rolls Series), I, § 135.
[3] Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 19, 21 f., 28 f.

the enemy cried loudly: "Is the King of the Norwegians hiding, or has he fled? Where has his golden helmet vanished?[1]"'

Haakon's foes were routed, but the king received his death-wound in the battle. He set sail the same night for his house Alreksstaðir, but soon grew exhausted from loss of blood, and asked to be put ashore. He landed at 'Haakon's Rock,' and by a strange coincidence is said to have died on the spot on which he had been born[2].

According to the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Fagrskinna*), ch. 11, the Eyvindr Finnsson mentioned above 'made a poem on the death of King Haakon, and modelled it on that which Gunnhildr had had made for King Eric...and he relates in the poem many things which occurred in the battle.' The poem here referred to is the *Hákonarmál.* Eyvindr was a member of King Haakon's retinue, being indeed his grand-nephew, and a great-grandson of Harold the Fairhaired. He fought by Haakon's side throughout the battle at Fitje, and it is curious that he tells us so little in his poem of what actually took place. He was surnamed *Skáldaspillir*, 'the Plagiarist,' and there is rough justice in the nickname; for the *Hákonarmál* is in form obviously a close and frank imitation of the *Eiríksmál*, while his other chief poem, the *Háleygjatal*, which has only come down to us in fragments, is just as evidently based on the *Ynglingatal* of Thjóðólfr of Hvín[3].

Yet Eyvindr is no mechanical copier of other poets. There is a difference of tone between the *Eiríksmál* and the *Hákonarmál*; and though the former is incomplete, it is not likely that the *Hákonarmál* is indebted to it for its spirit of reflection and note of regret for the things that have passed away. Indeed it would seem that the poem is as much inspired by hostility to Harold Greycloak, Haakon's successor, as by loyalty to Haakon himself. Especially is this noticeable in the last four strophes of the poem. Strophe 18 reads like a direct challenge to Harold who, with his two brothers,

[1] *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 30, 31.

[2] *Ib.* ch. 32.

[3] According to Olrik (*The Heroic Legends of Denmark*, transl. L. M. Hollander, New York, 1919, pp. 111, 175 f. and pass.), the first part of the *Hákonarmál* (e.g. str. 5) contains reminiscences also of the *Bjarkamál*.

'broke open the sanctuaries, destroyed the images, and carried thereby great hatred[1].' Equally double-edged are strophes 19 and 20, while in strophe 21 Eyvindr applies the melancholy reflections of the *Háramál* (str. 76 f.) to the famine and distress which prevailed in the land after Haakon's death.

There are moreover several points of detail in which the *Hákonarmál* differs from that portion of the *Eiríksmál* which has come down to us. In the latter it is Sigmundr who questions Othin as to why he has robbed Eric of victory. In the former the question is put by Haakon himself and strikes a querulous note.—'Surely we have deserved victory of the gods!' Further, in strophes 15—20 one is tempted to suspect that Haakon is entering Valholl with some misgiving. He does not appear to trust the gods.—'We will keep our armour in our own possession... It is well to have one's gear to hand.' Finally, in strophe 21 Eyvindr's own dissatisfaction is clearly expressed. The *Eiríksmál* is a vivid picture of the triumphal entry of Eric into Valholl. In the *Hákonarmál* the note of triumph is sounded in a minor key, and the reader is almost more conscious of the personality of Eyvindr than of Haakon himself.

Like the *Eiríksmál*, the *Hákonarmál* is composed in a combination of *Málaháttr* and *Ljóðaháttr*. The latter is used in strophes 1 and 2, and from strophe 9 (3) to the end of the poem, while the *Málaháttr* is used for the description of the battle in strophes 3—8.

The whole poem is preserved in the *Heimskringla* (K, J, F), and strophes 1—7 and 19—21 also in the *Fagrskinna* (cf. p. 73 above). The text given below is based in the main on *Kringla* (cf. p. 73 above) but the chief variations in reading are pointed out in the notes.

[1] Cf. the *Saga of Harold Greycloak* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 2.

THE HÁKONARMÁL

1 Göndul ok Skögul sendi Gautatýr
at kjósa um konunga,
hverr Yngva ættar skyldi með Óðni[1] fara
ok[2] í Valhöll[3] at[4] vesa.

2 Bróður fundu þær[5] Bjarnar í[6] brynju fara,
konung enn kostsama, kominn und[7] gunnfana;
drúpðu dolgr*áar*[8], en darraðr[9] hristisk,
upp vas þá hildr um hafið.

3 Hét á Háleygi[10] sem[11] á Holmrygi[12]
jarla einbani[13], fór til orrostu.
Gótt hafði enn gjöfli[14] gengi Norðmanna
œgir[15] Eydana, stóð und[16] árhjalmi[17].

4 Hrauzk ór herváðum[18], hratt[19] á völl brynju
vísi[20] verðungar[21], áðr[22] til vígs tœki[23].
Lék við ljóðmögu[24], skyldi land verja
gramr[25] enn glaðværi; —stóð und[26] gullhjalmi[27].

5 Svá beit þá sverð ór[28] siklings hendi
váðir Váfaðar, sem í vatn[29] brygði.
Brökuðu broddar[30], brotnuðu skildir[31],
glumruðu[32] glymhringar[33] í gotna[34] hausum[35].

6 Tröddusk[36] törgur fyr Týs ok bauga[37]
hjalta harðfótum hausar Norðmanna.
Róma varð í eyju, ruðu konungar[38]
skírar[39] skjaldborgir í skatna blóði.

[1] *oþin* J (1). [2] om. J (1), A, B. [3] *-hollu* J (1).
[4] om. F. [5] K, A, B; *funno þr* J (1), J (2); *f. þ(ar)* F.
[6] *or* F. [7] *undir* B, *unnd* A, *við* F.
[8] em. F. Jónsson; *dólgrár* K; *dolgur* F; *dolgarar* J (1); *dolgar* A, B.
[9] *darrar* J (1); *durr vorðr ristizk* B. [10] *Holmryggi* J (1).
[11] F, A, B; *sems* K. [12] *Sá er her kallar* J (1). [13] *-dani* F.
[14] F, J (1), A; *gofgi* K, B. [15] A; *œyger* B; *øgir* F; *egir* J (1); *eyðir* K.
[16] *undir* A, B. [17] *gull-* F; *haom-* B. [18] *herfotum* B. [19] *rett* A.
[20] K, J (2), A; *vis* J (1); *visir* B. [21] *varðungar* A; *værðunga* B.
[22] *aðr en* B. [23] *tœkis* K. [24] *-mangu* B, A, A (2); *maugu* A (1).
[25] *gram* K; *gylfi* Skáldskap. ch. 64. [26] A; *undir* B.
[27] *Lék...gullhjálmi* occurs also in *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 64. [28] *í* B.
[29] *vatn of* F. [30] *brykudo odd(ar)* J (1); *brakaðu b.* A, B.
[31] *skill(ir)* F. [32] *glaumroðo* F; *glumðraðu* B; *glumðu* A.
[33] K, F; *gylfringa* J (1); *-gar* A, B. [34] *iotna* J (1). [35] *haustum* B.
[36] *Trauðaðu* A, B. [37] *við tyss of* (*tysvin* A) *vallde* A, B.
[38] *fírar margir* F. [39] *skira* B.

THE HÁKONARMÁL

1 Göndul and Skögul were sent by Gautatýr to choose a king of Yngvi's race, who should go to join Othin and dwell in Valhöll.

2 They found Björn's brother arraying himself in coat of mail; the noble king was stationed beneath his standard. Deadly shafts were descending and the dart was quivering. The battle had now begun.

3 He called on the men of Hálogaland and likewise upon them of Rogaland, he who had dealt slaughter to earls, as he marched to battle. A brave force of Northmen had the generous prince.—In helmet of bronze he stood, a terror to the Danes.

4 Leading his chosen band he cast off his raiment of battle, flung his mail-coat to the ground before he began to fight. In helmet glittering with gold the joyous prince stood and sported with the sons of the host. His part it was to guard the land.

5 Then did the sword in the hero's hand pierce Váföðr's garments as if it had been whisked through water. Spear-heads were shivered and shields rent. The resounding steel clashed on the skulls of warriors.

6 Targets and skulls were crushed by the blade of the generous ruler of the Northmen. A tumult arose in the island as the king reddened the bright serried shields with the blood of warriors.

7 Brunnu beneldar í[1] blóðgum undum,
lutu[2] langbarðar at lýða fjörvi,
svarraði sárgymir[3] á sverða nesi,
fell flóð fleina í fjöru Storðar[4].

8 Blendusk[5] við roðn*um*[6] und randar himni
Sköglar veðr, léku við ský[7] um bauga;
umðu oddlár í Oðins veðri,
hné mart manna fyr mækis straumi.

9 Sátu þá döglingar með sverð um togin,
með skarða skjöldu ok skotnar[8] brynjur;
vasa sá herr í hugum ok[9] átti
til Valhallar vega.

10 Göndul þat mælti— studdisk geirs skapti.—
'Vex nú gengi goða,
es Hákoni[10] hafa með her mikinn
heim bönd[11] um boðit.'

11 Vísi þat heyrði hvat valkyrjur mæltu
mærar af[12] mars baki;
hyggiliga létu ok hjalmaðar sátu[13]
ok höfðusk hlífar fyrir.

12 'Hví þú svá gunni,' kvað Hákon, 'skiptir, Geirskögul[14]?
Várum þó verðir gagns frá goðum.'
'Vér því völdum,' kvað Skögul, 'at þú velli helt[15]
en þínir fiandr[16] flugu.'

13 'Ríða vit nú skulum,' kvað en ríkja Skögul,
'grœn*na*[17] heima goða,
Óðni at segja at nú[18] mun allvaldr koma
á[19] hann sjalfan[20] at séa.'

[1] F and J (1) *omit this strophe from* í *blóðgum...Storðar.* [2] *bitu* A.
[3] *-gymis* A; *svaraðe siorgymner* B.
[4] Strophes 8—18 are omitted in the *Fagrskinna.*
[5] F. omits this strophe; J (1) omits *við...straumi.*
[6] em. Munch and Unger; *roðnar* K. [7] em. Munch and Unger; *skys* K.
[8] *skorn(ar)* F. [9] F; *er* K. [10] *hakon* F. [11] *bǫndr* F.
[12] *a* J (1). [13] *satu* J (1); *stoðo* K, F. [14] *i gær* J (1).
[15] em. F. Jónsson; *hellz* K, F; *hellzt* J (1). [16] *fiandm(enn)* F.
[17] em. Munch and Unger; *grǿna* K, F; *gróna* J (1).
[18] F; *her* K. [19] F; *ok* K. [20] K, F; *sialfr* J (1).

14 ‘Hermóðr ok Bragi,’ kvað Hroptatýr,
‘gangið í gögn grami,
þvíat[1] konungr ferr, sás kappi þykkir,
til hallar hinig.’

15 Ræsir þat mælti— vas frá rómu kominn,
stóð allr í dreyra drifinn:—
‘Illúðigr mjök[2] þykkir oss[3] Óðinn vesa,
sjám[4] vér hans um hugi.’

16 ‘Einherja[5] grið skalt þú allra hafa,
þigg þú at Ásum öl.
Jarla bági, þú átt inni hér
átta brœðr,’ kvað Bragi.

17 ‘Gerðar várar,’ kvað enn góði konungr,
‘viljum vér sjalfir[6] hafa;
hjalm ok brynju skal hirða vel,
gótt es til görs[7] at taka.’

18 Þá þat kyndisk, hvé sá konungr hafði
vel um þyrmt véum,
es Hákon báðu heilan koma
ráð öll ok regin.

19 Góðu dœgri verðr sá gramr um borinn,
es sér getr slíkan sefa;
hans aldar mun æ vesa
at góðu getit.

20 Mun óbundinn á ýta sjöt
Fenrisulfr um[8] fara,
áðr jafngóðr á auða tröð
konungmaðr[9] komi.

21 Deyr fé, deyja frændr,
eyðisk land ok láð;
síz[10] Hákon fór[11] með heiðin goð,
mörg es þjóð um þjáð.

[1] K, J (1); *alls* F. [2] *os* F. [3] om. F. [4] K, J (1); *sia* F. [5] *Enhveria* J (1).
[6] *sialfr* J (1). [7] *gors* K; *geyrs* F, J (1). [8] *of* F; om. K, J (1).
[9] K, F; *konungr* J (1). [10] *sizt* K, J (1); *siti* F. [11] J; om. K, F.

14 'Hermóðr and Bragi,' said Hroptatýr, 'go ye to meet the prince; for there is coming to our hall a king who has proved himself a hero.'

15 Then spake the prince who had come from the tumult, and stood all drenched with blood.—'Othin has shown himself very hostile towards us. We are afraid of his displeasure.'

16 'No harm shalt thou get from any of the Einherjar,' said Bragi; 'Accept ale from the Æsir! Foe of Earls, thou hast eight brothers in our abode.'

17 'We will keep our armour in our own possession,' said the brave king; 'helm and mail-coat must be well guarded. It is well to have one's gear to hand.'

18 Then it was made manifest, when all the divine council bade Haakon welcome, how that king had dealt reverently with the sanctuaries.

19 A prince who gains for himself such a character is born under a happy star; his life will ever be held in good report.

20 The wolf of Fenrir will be let loose upon the homes of men before so good a prince shall succeed to his vacant place.

21 Cattle are dying, kinsfolk are dying, land and realm are laid waste, and many people have been reduced to bondage since Haakon passed away to the heathen gods.

XI. THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

This poem is preserved in the *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157. It follows immediately on the account of the battle of Clontarf[1], which was fought on Good Friday, 1014, between Brian Borumh, the high-king of Ireland, and Sigurðr, Earl of Orkney.

The accounts of the battle preserved in Norse and Irish literature are singularly full and interesting[2]. According to the *Njáls Saga* (ch. 154) the battle had its origin in the desire of Kormlöð, the mother of Sigtryggr Silken-beard, King of Dublin, to be avenged on Brian Borumh, to whom she had formerly been married. To accomplish this end, she sent her son to Sigurðr, Earl of Orkney, and to Bróðir, a Viking chief coasting off the Isle of Man, bidding him offer any terms to gain their assistance. Taking her at her word Sigtryggr promised his mother in marriage to each of them without informing the other, and thus obtained their aid. There is no reason for questioning the truth of this story; but it is to be noted that according to Irish authorities it was Brian who took the offensive, and an attack was no doubt expected from him.

The Irish forces came up on Palm Sunday, but the battle did not take place till the Friday. According to *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157, this was because Bróðir had ascertained by witchcraft that if they fought on Good Friday King Brian would fall but gain the victory; but if they fought before that day the battle would prove fatal to all who were against him[3]. According to the Irish accounts[4] the two armies met on the morning of Good Friday and the battle opened with a single combat.

[1] The Story of the Irish War contained in ch. 154 ff. is connected only in the loosest way with the rest of the saga, and is believed to have been taken from a lost *Brjáns Saga* which was used also in *Thorsteins Saga Síðuhallssonar* (cf. F. Jónsson's ed. of *Brennu-Njálssaga* (Halle, 1908), pp. xxx ff.) Thorsteinn, son of Hallr á Síðu, is said to have been present at the battle together with Hrafn the Red, and it is possible that the story of the battle was derived ultimately from them.

[2] Cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 156, 157; *Thorsteins Saga Síðuhallssonar*, ch. 2, *Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. 13, etc.; *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* (Rolls Series), p. 151 ff.; *Annals of Loch Cé* (Rolls Series), p. 3 ff., etc.

[3] Cf. however the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 157. There is nothing irreconcilable in the two accounts.

[4] *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 176 ff.

Plait, son of the King of 'Lochlainn,' and 'a brave champion of the foreigners' (i.e. the Norsemen), had challenged Domhnall, a warrior on Brian's side, the night before the battle; and now he stepped forward in front of the Irish host crying three times "Faras Domhnall?" (*Hvar es*, 'where is,' Domhnall?) Domhnall answered and said "Sund, a snithing" (Here, O *niðingr*, 'wretch')!

'They fought then, and each of them endeavoured to slaughter the other; and they fell by each other, and the way that they fell was, with the sword of each through the heart of the other; and the hair of each in the clinched hands of the other. And the combat of that pair was the first [of the battle].'

Then the hosts came together and a tremendous fight took place, lasting from sunrise to sunset, from tide to tide[1].

'And each party of them remembered their ancient animosities towards each other, and each party of them attacked the other. And it will be one of the wonders of the day of judgment to relate the description of this tremendous onset[2]...It appeared to the people of Ath Cliath (Dublin) who were watching them from their battlements, that not more numerous would be the sheaves floating over a great company reaping a field of oats; even though two or three battalions were working at it, than the hair flying with the wind from them, cut away by the heavy gleaming axes, and by bright flaming swords. Whereupon the son of Amhlaibh (i.e. King Sigtryggr), who was on the battlements of his tower, watching them said: "Well do the foreigners reap the field," said he; "Many is the sheaf they let go from them[3]".'

The Irish annalist continues in words which recall passages of the *Darraðarljóð* (strophes 1, 9):

'There was a field, and a ditch, between us and them, and the sharp wind of the spring coming over them towards us; and it was not longer than the time that a cow could be milked, or two cows, that we continued there, when not one person of the two hosts could recognize another...we were so

[1] *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 191.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 175. [3] *Ib.*, p. 191.

covered, as well our heads as our faces, and our clothes, with the drops of gory blood, carried by the force of the sharp cold wind which passed over them to us. And even if we attempted to perform any deed of valour we were unable to do it, because our spears over our heads had become clogged and bound with long locks of hair, which the wind forced upon us, when cut away by well-aimed swords, and gleaming axes; so that it was half occupation to us to endeavour to disentangle, and cast them off. And it is one of the problems of Erinn, whether the valour of those who sustained that crushing assault was greater than ours who bore the sight of it without running distracted before the winds or fainting[1].'

There fell Earl Sigurðr of Orkney defending the famous raven banner[2], and there fell Murchadh, eldest son of King Brian, and a countless host of men on either hand.

According to *Njáls Saga* King Sigtryggr commanded one wing of the host; but the Irish annals are unanimous in declaring that he watched the battle with his wife from the fortifications of Dublin, and this is no doubt correct. Even his troops were apparently not engaged; for the Irish are said to have forborne from attacking Dublin through fear that Sigtryggr's men would come out and attack them[3].

According to the Irish chronicle[4] King Brian was kneeling on a cushion with his psalter, 'for he would not fight on a holy day[5].' His end is told with characteristic picturesqueness by the Irish annalist. After a watch kept by Brian's attendant which vividly recalls the watch kept by Sister Anne in the Bluebeard story, Bróðir was seen approaching with two attendants.

'One of the three who were there, and who had been in Brian's service, said "Cing, cing," said he, "this is the king." "No, no, but priest, priest," said Bróðir "It is not he but a noble priest." "By no means," said the soldier, "that is the

[1] [illegible] Cf. also *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157,
[2] [illegible]
[3] [illegible] Cf. also p 211.
[4] *Ib.* p. 197.
[5] Cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157.

great king Brian."' Then Bróðir turned aside and slew King Brian and was afterwards slain himself[1].

This great battle which was regarded by bards and annalists alike as one of the greatest in Irish history[2] was the occasion of many poems which are scattered up and down the Irish annals[3], and elsewhere[4]. It is said in both the Norse and Irish authorities to have been accompanied by strange visions and portents[5]. One of these visions is thus described in *Njáls Saga* (ch. 156):

'On the morning of Good Friday the following event happened in Caithness. A man called Dörruðr was out walking and saw twelve persons ride in a body to a *dyngja*[6] where they all disappeared. He went to the *dyngja* and looked in through one of the windows and saw that there were women inside and they had set up a loom. Men's heads served for weights, men's entrails for the weft and warp, a sword for the "beater in" and an arrow for the *hræll*. They sang the following verses.'

At this point the saga inserts the poem *Darraðarljóð*, after which it continues as follows:

'Then they pulled down the web and tore it asunder, and each of them kept the part she had hold of. Dörruðr now turned away from the window and went home. And they mounted their steeds, and rode six to the south and the other six to the north. Brandr, the son of Gneisti, had a similar vision in the Faroes.'

[1] The *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* and the *Annals of Loch Cé* are silent as to Bróðir's slayer. According to *Njáls Saga* he was slain by Ulfr the Quarrelsome; according to *Thorsteins Saga Síðuhalssonar*, ch. 2, by Óspakr his own brother.

[2] It is the climax to which the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* works up and with which the work abruptly closes. It is also the opening entry and the starting-point of the *Annals of Loch Cé*. Its importance however is literary rather than historical. Sigtryggr continued to reign over Dublin for many years.

[3] *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, pp. 205, 207; Keating's *History of Ireland* (Ir. Text Soc.), Vol. III, Section xxv, p. 277.

[4] Cf. *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157.

[5] Cf. the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 173; *Thorsteins Saga Síðuhalssonar*, ch. 2; *Annals of Loch Cé*, pp. 7—11.

[6] *Dyngja*, generally used in Iceland for the ladies' bower. Originally it would seem to have meant a room for weaving, as a rule partly or wholly underground; cf. early German *dung* (*tunc*), *textrina*.

It is generally agreed that 'Dörruðr' is a myth and owes his existence to the expression *vefr darraðar* in str. 4. An easier explanation would be provided by the name of the poem *Darraðarljóð* as suggested by Munch[1], if this was current when the story was written down; but none of the MSS. give a title to the poem. It is worth noting that the expression *vefr darraðar* occurs in Egill Skallagrímsson's *Höfuðlausn* (str. 5) which is said to have been composed in 936. According to F. Jónsson[2] Darraðr ('Dórroþr') is a name of Othin; but other scholars take the expression to mean 'web of the spear.'

Of the date and authorship of the poem we know nothing. The majority of scholars, including S. Bugge[3], F. Jónsson[4], E. Mogk[5], etc. believe it to have been composed not very long after the battle, whether in the British Isles or in Iceland, the latter view being favoured by F. Jónsson. Heusler[6] on the other hand thinks that it dates from a later period, and that it was based on stories of the battle 'in saga form,' though he admits that there is nothing to prevent its being as early as the eleventh century. Others[7] again have suggested that the poem was not originally connected with the battle of Clontarf, and in this connection we may perhaps note that it contains no proper names except *Írar* in str. 8. So far as I am aware, however, no scholar appears to have stated the grounds for his view in any detail.

The poem was known, perhaps in ballad form, in Orkney in the latter part of the eighteenth century. In Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott* (Edinburgh, 1902), Vol. IV, p. 223 ff., the following passage occurs:

'A clergyman...while some remnants of the Norse were yet spoken in North Ronaldsha, carried thither the translation of Mr Gray, then newly published, and read it to some of the

[illegible], foot-
nc [illegible]
[illegible] (1904),
p. [illegible]
[illegible] -rman-
nerne (Copenhagen, 1882), Vol. III, p. 170.

old people as referring to the ancient history of their islands. But so soon as he had proceeded a little way, they exclaimed they knew it very well in the original, and had often sung it to himself when he asked them for an old Norse song; they called it *The Enchantresses*.'

It is not impossible that the poem may have come from Iceland to Orkney at some time during the Middle Ages or possibly even later; but as it stands, the external evidence, taken in connection with the reference to Caithness in the saga, certainly points to the north of Scotland rather than to Iceland.

The evidence contained in the poem itself, however, presents certain difficulties. It has been mentioned that it contains no proper names except the word *Írar*. The historical information which it gives may be summed up as follows: (1) a great battle is taking place, which concerns a young king for whose safety and success the spell is being sung (str. 4, 5, 6, 10); (2) a mighty chief (*ríkr gramr*), also described as *jarlmaðr*, (str. 7) is slain; (3) the Irish also are suffering a disaster which will never be forgotten (str. 8); (4) the people who hitherto have been confined to the outlying headlands will now rule the country (str. 7).

It is to be observed that while (2), (3) and (4) of these items are mentioned only in one strophe—or rather half-strophe—each, the 'young king' is the subject of four out of the eleven strophes, and there can be no doubt that it is with him that the poem is primarily concerned. It cannot therefore be derived from the only Icelandic form of the story (*Njáls Saga*) which has come down to us; for there the sympathy is obviously on the side of Brian, while Sigtryggr appears as a cunning enough but by no means heroic character. The Icelanders who were present in the battle had gone there in the following of Earl Sigurðr, not of Sigtryggr; nor was the latter a man of any great distinction, although he reigned for more than half a century.

The facts pointed out above would seem rather to point to Dublin as the original home of the poem. King Sigtryggr's followers might regard the battle as no great misfortune, and

look forward to victories over the Irish in the future. But other difficulties still remain. According to the Irish authorities, which are both earlier and fuller than the Norse, Sigtryggr took no part in the battle, so that the working of the spell for his safety would seem to be superfluous. Why too should the youth of the king be so frequently mentioned? His father died in 980 and he himself became king in 988, so that he cannot have been far short of forty at the time of the battle.

I am inclined therefore to suspect that the poem was composed for some other occasion, probably in Ireland[1], and that it only became associated with the battle of Clontarf at a later period, whether in Orkney or in Iceland. We know that the early years of Sigtryggr's reign were disturbed, e.g. in 993, when he was ejected for a time from Dublin; but few details of these events have been preserved. It is not impossible, however, that it was originally concerned with some earlier king, e.g. with the earlier Sigtryggr, who in the year 919 defeated and slew the high-king Njáll Glundubh in the neighbourhood of Dublin—an event which would certainly seem to suit str. 7 more appropriately than anything that we know of in the history of the later Sigtryggr. It is perhaps worth pointing out that in that case the use of the expression *vefr darraðar* by Egill in 936 could be satisfactorily explained as due to our poem. The expression itself may have been suggested by the Irish word *mórenglaim*, 'the great woof of war,' which occurs in *The Song of Caroll's Sword*[2], dating from 909.

thus to have been composed in Dublin, and later to have found a home in the north of Scotland.

[2] An annotated text and translation of this poem are given by Kuno Meyer in the *Revue Celtique*, Vol. xx (1899), p. 9 ff.; and in the *Gaelic*

The following short piece occurs in *Njáls Saga*, ch. 157, just after the *Darraðarljóð* (cf. p. 114 above). It is introduced as follows: 'Earl Gilli in the Hebrides dreamed that a man came to him and gave his name as Herfinnr and said that he had come from Ireland. The Earl dreamed that he asked him for news from that quarter. The man recited this verse.'

Here follows the fragment given below:

Vask þars bragnar börðusk, brandr gall á Írlandi,
margr þars mœttusk törgur; malmr gnast í dyn hjalma;
sókn þeira frák snarpa; Sigurðr fell í dyn vigra;
áðr tœði ben blœða; Brjánn fell ok helt velli[1].

'I have been in Ireland where heroes were fighting and many a sword was clashing as shield met shield—the steel was shivered in the crash of armour. Fierce I know was the encounter of those warriors. Sigurðr fell in the crash of spears, but the blood was already pouring from his wounds. Brian fell but won the victory.'

Nothing definite is known as to the origin and date of the poem, though, like the *Darraðarljóð*, it may have been preserved in the *Brjáns Saga*[2].

In order to understand clearly the metaphor which is worked out so fully in the first two strophes of the *Darraðarljóð*, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the old upright or perpendicular loom (*vefstaðr, vefstoll*) which was still in common use in Iceland in the latter half of the eighteenth century[4].

Journal, Vol. x (1900), p. 613 ff. (cf. especially his note on the variant readings of *móreiglaim*). The translation has also been reprinted in *Ancient Irish Poetry*[2] (London, 1913) p. 72, by the same author. Similar terms are not unknown elsewhere in Norse and in other Teutonic languages, e.g. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, I, str. 3 f., *Beowulf*, l. 697; but I do not know of any parallel so close as the Irish one given above.

The root principle of all weaving is the rapid passing to and fro of a single free thread of yarn (i.e. weft thread) alternately under and over a series of parallel threads of yarn (i.e. warp threads). This process is represented by the expression *vinda vef.* To ensure a durable fabric, care must be taken in simple weaving, as in the ordinary darning stitch, that the weft thread is never placed under the same thread of warp in two consecutive passages. To facilitate the weaver's task the threads of the warp are invariably stretched and held taut, generally by weights.

In the old Icelandic upright loom the warp threads (*vefr*) are attached to a thick rounded bar of wood (*rifr*) which revolves freely in two wooden sockets at the top of two upright wooden posts (*hleinar*). A beam (*skaft*) or, later, two or even several beams, rested on wooden pegs (*skaftillir*) in the middle of the *hleinar*. To this *skaft* are attached the ends of a number of threads At the unattached ends are loops through each of which is threaded every alternate warp thread. The backward and forward movement of the *skaft* thus serves to decussate the warp threads in much the same way as the heilds of a modern horizontal hand loom. Naturally the shed, or space between the warp threads, is widened and work facilitated by the addition of a second *skaft*. The ends of the warp opposite to the *rifr* are weighted (*kljáðr*), singly or in groups, by heavy stones (*kljásteinar*), which hang freely and hold the warp taut. The work of the reed in the modern hand loom seems to

have been done by different implements at different periods, and on this point there is no consensus of opinion among experts. It seems to be clear, however, that at any rate a part of this work was done by the *skeið*, a large smooth spear-shaped implement of whalebone. It may have been used also to 'sley' or force up[1] the threads of the weft so that they should lie close together to give the necessary firmness to the fabric. This work appears to have been performed in some cases by a comb-shaped implement, and the *skeið* inserted into the shed, as its shape suggests, to give the necessary blow to the comb from below. Mr Roth however declares[2] that he can get no good results from sleying the threads of the upright loom with this 'comb.'

The same vagueness unfortunately exists as to the use of the *hræll*, a small sharp implement of bone or hard wood hanging from the *rifr* by a cord. It would no doubt be used to separate the threads of the warp, preparatory to threading them through the loops of the heilds; and it may also have been used for adjusting the weft threads from time to time. It is to be noted, however, that in Olavius's account of the Icelandic loom the *hræll* and the *skeið* are both said to be used for 'beating in' the weft; but the description is obscure in many other points also, and Mr Roth is of the opinion[3] that the *hræll* was used as a preliminary to the *skeið*. He refers to the statement of N. Annandale (*The Faroes and Iceland*, Oxford, 1905, p. 195 f.) that he obtained in the Faroes a beater-in ('weaver's sword') made of a whale's jaw or rib. Such an object would probably serve the purposes of both a *hræll* and a *skeið*, having approximately the shape of the former and the dimensions of the latter. The shuttle was unknown, and the weft threads were pushed through the warp by hand.

[1] It is to be observed that on the upright looms of the North the cloth was woven downwards, the first weft thread being inserted at the top of the warp and sleyed upwards.

[2] Cf. H. L. Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms* ('Bankfield Museum Notes,' Second Series, No. 2, Halifax, 1913), p. 20 and footnote.

[3] *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, p. 35.

The following are the more important MSS. of *Njáls Saga* in which the poem has been preserved[1]:

F : *Reykjabók* (AM. 468), c. 1300.
A : *Mǫðruvallabók* (AM. 132), c. 1350.
I : *Gráskinna* (Gl. Kgl. Saml. 2870), c. 1300 (17th C. transcript).
E : *Oddabók* (AM. 466), 15th Century.

Ms. I is incomplete, and for the portion which includes the *Darraðarljóð* we are dependent on a seventeenth century transcript. The text of the poem which it offers is on the whole the most reliable; but its readings often require to be checked by a comparison with the other three MSS. I have therefore taken I as the basis of my text, indicating the most important of the variant readings in the footnotes below.

The metre of the poem is *Fornyrðislag*. Cf. p. 78 above.

[1] Cf. Jón Thorkelsson, 'Om håndskrifterne af Njála' in *Njála*, Vol. II (Copenhagen, 1889), p. 649 ff. Cf. also p. 579 ff.; F. Jónsson's edition of *Brennu-Njálssaga* (Halle, 1908), p. XLII, Heusler, *Eddica Minora*, p. XLVIII.

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THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

1 Vítt es orpit[1] fyr valfalli
rifs[2] reiðiský[3], rignir blóði;
nú's fyr geirum grár upp kominn
vefr verþjóðar sás[4] vinur fylla
rauðum vefti[5] Randvés bana[6].

2 Sás orpinn vefr[7] ýta þörmum
ok harðkljáðr[8] höfðum manna;
eru dreyrrekin dörr[9] at sköftum,
jarnvarðr[10] yllir[11], enn örum hrælaðr[12];
skulum[13] slá sverðum sigrvef þenna.

3 Gengr Hildr vefa[14] ok Hjörþrimul,
Sanngríðr[15], Svipul[16] sverðum tognum[17];
skaft mun gnesta, skjöldr mun bresta[18];
mun hjalmgagarr í hlíf koma.

4 Vindum[19], vindum vef darraðar,
sás ungr konungr átti fyrri;
fram skulum ganga ok[20] í folk vaða,
þars vinir várir vápnum skifta.

5 Vindum, vindum vef darraðar,
ok siklingi síðan fylgjum;
þar sjá[21] bragna[22] blóðgar randir
Gunnr ok Göndul þærs grami hlífðu[23].

6 Vindum, vindum vef darraðar,
þars vé vaða vígra manna;
látum eigi líf hans farask[24];
eigu valkyrjur vals[25] um kosti.

[1] A; *orðit* I; *orpinn* E; *orf(inn)* F. [2] *reifs* I. [3] *-ský* om. E, F, I.
[4] *þær er* A, I; *þær* E, F. [5] om. E.
[6] A; *Randvés lika* I; *randverks bla* E; *randversk bla* F. [7] *vefr orpinn* I.
[8] *-kliaþr* mss. [9] *darggr* E. [10] *iarnvarað* E; *iarvarðr* I. [11] *ylli* F, E.
[12] A, I; *hrælað* E; *hrælar* F. [13] A, E, F; *skal* I. [14] *at vefa* I.
[15] *Sangriðr* A; *ok Sandg(ri)ðr* I; *Sangniðr* F; *Savgnið(r)* E.
[16] *Sipul* F; om. I. [17] *tognum* A, I; *rekna* E, F.
[18] *sköpt munu gnesta, en skildir munu bresta* I. [19] I om. this strophe.
[20] *flokk* E. [21] *sia* E, F, I; *sáu* A.
[22] em. Thorkelsson and Gíslason; *bragnar* E, F; *bara* A; *beru* I.
[23] A, E, I; *fylgðu* F. [24] *líf her svaraz* F.
[25] E, F, I (margin); *vígs* A, I (text).

THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

1 A loom has been set up, stretching afar and portending slaughter......and a rain of blood is pouring. Upon it has been stretched a warp of human beings—a warp grey with spears, which the valkyries are filling with weft of crimson.

2 This warp is formed of men's entrails, and is heavily weighted with human heads. Blood-stained javelins serve as heddles, the spool is shod with iron, the *hræll* is formed of arrows, and it is with swords that we must sley this web of battle.

3 Hildr is going to weave, and Hjörþrimul, Sanngríðr and Svipul with drawn swords. The spearshaft will snap, the shield will be cleft, and armour will be pierced by the render of the helmet.

4 We are weaving, weaving the web of the spear. Young is the king who owned it in the past. Forth must we step, and make our way into the battle, where the arms of our friends are clashing.

5 We are weaving, weaving the web of the spear, and we shall continue to aid the hero. Then Gunnr and Göndul who have guarded the prince will look upon the bloody shields of warriors.

6 We are weaving, weaving the web of the spear, while the standard of the valiant warrior is advancing. We shall not suffer him to lose his life. It is for the valkyries to determine who shall be slain.

7 Þeir munu lýðir löndum ráða,
es útskaga áðr um bygðu;
kveðk ríkjum gram ráðinn dauða;
nús fyr oddum jarlmaðr[1] hniginn.

8 Ok munu Írar angr um bíða,
þats aldri mun ýtum fyrnask;
nús vefr ofinn, enn völlr roðinn;
munu um lönd fara læspjöll gota.

9 Nús ógurlegt um at lítask,
es dreyrug ský dregr[2] með himni;
mun loft litat[3] lýða blóði,
es sóknvarðir[4] syngja[5] kunnu[6].

10 Vel kváðum[7] vér um konung ungan
sigrljóða[8] fjölð[9]; syngjum heilar!
Enn hinn nemi es heyrir á
geirfljóða[10] ljóð[11], ok gumum segi[12].

11 Ríðum hestum hart[13] út berum
brugðnum sverðum á braut heðan.

[1] *saklauss maðr* I. [2] *es...dregr: at dreyrugt ský dregsk* A, I. [3] *litask* I.
[4] om. F. Jónsson; *spár varar* E, F; *spár varðar* A; *þá er sókn varðar* I.
[5] A, I; *springa* E, F. [6] om. A.
[7] *kváðu* E; *kveðu* A; *k(ra)ðu* F. [8] *sigrhlióða* A, E, I; *sigr hliða* F.
[9] A, F; *fliöð* E, I.
[10] I; *geirljóða* A; *geirhljóða* E, F.
[11] *hljóð* I; *fljóð* E; *fjölð* A, F.
[12] A, I; *skemti* E, F. [13] *Allz* A.

7 The people who have hitherto occupied only the outlying headlands shall have dominion over the land. I declare that death is ordained for a mighty prince.—Even now the earl has been laid low by the spears.

8 The Irish too will suffer a sorrow which will never be forgotten by men. Now the web has been woven and the field dyed crimson. The news of the disaster will travel throughout the world.

9 It is ghastly now to look around, when blood-red clouds are gathering in the sky. The air is being dyed with the blood of men, while the maidens of battle are singing.

10 Many spells of victory have we chanted well for the young king. May we have luck in our singing! And may he who hearkens to the spear-maidens' lay learn it and tell it to men.

11 Let us brandish our swords, and gallop our barebacked steeds out hence and away.

XII. THE SONATORREK, ETC.

Egill Skallagrímsson, the most important of all the poets of Iceland, was born about the year 900 at Borg in Borgarfjörðr, where his father Skallagrímr had settled on his departure from Norway in 878. The story of his life, together with what remains of his poems, is preserved in the saga which bears his name, and which appears to have been written down about the close of the twelfth century. At an early age Egill showed signs of a truculent and unruly disposition. He went abroad for the first time about the year 915 with his elder brother Thórólfr, and spent the next ten years in Norway. His conduct there brought upon him the hostility of Eric (Blóðöx), son of King Harold the Fairhaired, and more especially of Eric's wife Gunnhildr. In consequence of this the two brothers had to leave Norway. They went to England and took service under King Aethelstan whose territories were threatened with invasion by 'Olaf the Red,' who is represented in the saga as King of Scotland. In the campaign which ensued Thórólfr was killed. Egill was handsomely rewarded for his services by King Aethelstan, and shortly afterwards went back to Norway, where he married Ásgerðr, his brother's widow. With her he returned home to Iceland (about 927). Some years later, hearing of the death of his wife's father, he again visited Norway to claim her share of the property. The claim was disputed by the husband of his wife's sister who alleged that Ásgerðr was illegitimate. Egill again incurred the wrath of Eric who was now king, and his life was saved only by the efforts of the baron Arinbjörn, a relative of his wife. Eventually Egill murdered both the rival claimant and a young son of the king, and then escaped to Iceland. In 936 he again set out for England to visit King Aethelstan, being unaware that Eric had been expelled from Norway and was now established under Aethelstan at York. Egill's

ship was wrecked at the mouth of the Humber, but he succeeded in finding his friend Arinbjörn, who persuaded him to compose a panegyric on King Eric (the *Höfuðlausn*), by means of which he was enabled to save his life. After some time spent with King Aethelstan, and another short visit to Norway, he returned home to Iceland (about 938). He was again in Norway for about two years (about 950—952); but apart from this he spent the rest of his life in his native land. He occupied the family home at Borg until after his wife's death (about 973), when he gave it up to his son Thorsteinn. After this he lived with his stepdaughter Thordís at Mosfell, where he died about 982. Besides Thorsteinn he had two sons, both of whom died young (about 960), and two daughters, one of whom (Thorgerðr) was married to Olaf Pái, and is a prominent character in the *Laxdæla Saga*.

Three of Egill's longer poems have been preserved—the *Höfuðlausn*, composed at York in 936, the *Sonatorrek*, an elegy on the loss of his two sons, and the *Arinbjarnardrápa*, composed in honour of his friend Arinbjorn. The two latter are believed to date from about 960. In addition to these, he is known to have composed at least three other long poems, one of which (the *Aðalsteinsdrápa*) was a panegyric in honour of King Aethelstan, composed about 926. Of this the first verse and the refrain have been preserved and are given below. The saga contains also a large number of single strophes, which are said to have been composed by Egill on various occasions.

Egill's poems, more especially the shorter pieces, are typical examples of the highly artificial style of composition cultivated by the poets of his day. The extravagant kennings render them distasteful to the modern reader, and this distaste is intensified by the habit of interweaving two or more co-ordinate sentences, which are not always easy to disentangle. Indeed it must have required considerable familiarity with the art to apprehend the poet's meaning when he was declaiming them. At the same time, they are of considerable interest for the light which they throw on

the man's character, in addition to the information which they give in regard to the life and thought of the times.

The most important texts of *Egils Saga* are contained in two vellums, *AM.* 132 (M), dating probably from about the middle of the fourteenth century, and the *Wölfenbuttel* MS. (W), which is of about the same date but incomplete—and one paper MS. *AM.* 453, copied, apparently, in the seventeenth century, from a MS. (K), dating from about 1400, of which only a small fragment (*AM.* 162 E) now remains. Of these MSS. M is in every way the best. According to F. Jónsson the remaining MSS. are of no independent value.

As specimens of Egill's style I have selected (1) two strophes from ch. 55, which form a short elegy on the death of his brother Thórólfr, (2) the opening strophe and the refrain—all that is preserved—of his panegyric on King Aethelstan, also from ch. 55, (3) the elegy (*Sonatorrek*) on the deaths of his two sons, from ch. 78.

With regard to the two former pieces it is to be observed that according to the saga the war against 'Olaf the Red' broke out very shortly after Aethelstan had succeeded to the throne. Thórólfr and Egill offered their services to the king, and the former was given an important command in the army. In the fighting which followed he was killed, but the English were victorious, largely owing to Egill's bravery. Olaf was slain, and his army was dispersed.

It is clear that the saga, which was not written down until about the year 1200, is inaccurate in several particulars. In 'Olaf the Red' two distinct persons appear to be confused. Anlaf (Óláfr), son of Guthfrith, King of Dublin, and his ally Constantine, King of Scotland; but neither of them was killed in battle against Aethelstan[1]. The battle described in the saga is said to have taken place shortly after Aethelstan's accession, and many years before King Eric was expelled from Norway (935). It cannot therefore be the Battle of Brunanburh which was fought in 937[2], in spite of the similarity between the names *Vínheiðr* and *Vína* and

[1] Cf. p. 61 ff. above. [2] Cf. p. 59 ff. above.

the name *Weondun* which Symeon of Durham[1] gives to the Battle of Brunanburh. It would appear rather to have been an earlier attempt on the part of Anlaf to reclaim the kingdom from which his father Guthfrith had been expelled. In the saga Egill is represented as reciting the following strophes at his brother's funeral on the battlefield; but the expressions *jörð grœr*, etc. (str. 1), and *vestan* (str. 2), rather suggest that they were composed at some later date, presumably after the poet's return to Iceland.

1 Gekk sás óðisk ekki[2], jarlsmanns bani, snarla,
þreklundaðr fell Þundar þórólfr í gný stórum.
Jorð grœr, enn vér verðum, Vínu nær of mínum—
helnauð es þat—hylja harm, ágæt*um*[3] barma.

2 Valkostum hlóðk vestan vang fyr merkistangir,
ótt vas él þats[4] sóttak Aðils bláum[5] Naðri;
háði ungr við Engla Áleifr þrumu[6] stála;
helt, né[7] hrafnar sultu, Hringr á[8] vápna þingi.

1 Thórólfr the bold-hearted, the slayer of the earl, he who feared nothing, strode forth valiantly and fell in Thundr's great uproar. Near Vína the earth is green over my noble brother. That is a deadly sorrow, but we will suppress our grief.

2 In the West I covered the ground with heaps of slaughter in front of my standard. Violent was the storm which I brought upon Aðils with my black Adder The young Áleifr raised a tempest of steel against the English. Hringr busied himself in the clash of weapons, and the ravens did not go hungry.

The other strophe is all that remains of a *drápa* or panegyric poem in honour of Aethelstan, which Egill is also represented (ch. 55) as having produced shortly after the battle.

[1] *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* (Rolls Series), cap. xviii; *Historia Regum*, ib. § 83.
[2] om. W.
[3] em. F. Jónsson, *ágætan* M, *agiætan* W, K.
[4] M, W; *þat* K.
[5] *með bl.* K.
[6] *olafr þrimu* M, W.
[7] *þar er* W; *meðan* K.
[8] *at* W.

Þá orti Egill drápu um Aðalstein konung, ok er í því kvæði þetta:

Nú hefir foldgnárr felda —fellr jörð und nið Ellu—
hjaldrsnerrandi, harra höfuðbaðmr, þría jöfra.
Aðalsteinn of vann annat —alt's lægra kynfrægjum—
hér sverjum þess, hyrjar *hrannbrjótr*[1]!—konungmanni.

Enn þetta er stefit í drápunni:

Nú liggr hæst und hraustum hreinbraut Aðalsteini.

Then Egill composed a panegyric upon King Aethelstan, which contained the following strophe:

The scion of kings...he who rouses the battle into fury, has now laid three princes low. The land falls into the hands of Ælla's kinsman. Aethelstan has accomplished yet more. Here we swear it, O distributor of gold! There is nothing so noble as a royal person of renowned stock.

And this is the refrain of the poem:

The highest mountain ridges are now subject to the valiant Aethelstan.

The *Sonatorrek* appears to have been composed some thirty-five years after the poems given above. It is preserved in ch. 78 of the saga, where an account is given of the circumstances from which it arose.

Egill had bought timber from a ship which had come up the White River, and his son Böðvarr, then about seventeen years of age, went with the men on an eight-oared boat to bring it home. A storm arose and the ship foundered, and the whole crew were drowned.

Egill heard the same day what had happened and went to look for Böðvarr's body. Having found it he rode with it to Dígranes and placed it in the family barrow beside his father Skallagrímr. Then he rode home to Borg, and went straight to bed and locked himself in. No one dared to dis-

[1] em. F. Jónsson; ms. *hannbrjótr*.

turb him, and he lay thus for two days without food or drink. But on the third morning his wife Ásgerðr sent a messenger to bring their daughter Thorgerðr from Hjarðarholt. Thorgerðr set off immediately and rode to Borg with two companions.

Ásgerðr greeted her and asked whether they had had supper.

Thorgerðr replied in a loud voice: "I have had no supper, and I will not have any till I arrive at Freyja's home. I think that the best thing for me to do is to follow my father's example. I have no wish to survive my father and my brother."

She went to the bedroom and called out: "Father, open the door. I want us both to go the same journey."

Egill undid the lock, and Thorgerðr stepped up into the bedroom and closed the door; she lay down on another bed that was there.

Then Egill said: "You have done well, daughter, in wanting to accompany your father. You have shown how greatly you are devoted to me.—How could it be expected that I should want to live under such a burden of grief?"

After this they were silent for a while.

Then Egill said: "What are you doing, daughter? Are you chewing something?"

"I am chewing samphire," she replied, "because I think it will do me harm; I am afraid that otherwise I may live too long."

"Is samphire bad for people?" asked Egill.

"Very bad," said she; "will you have some?"

"Why not?" said he.

A little while after she called out and asked them to give her a drink. Then they gave her a drink.

Then Egill said: "It is always so with those who eat samphire.—They grow more and more thirsty."

"Would you like a drink, father?" says she.

He took it and gulped down a deep draught. It was in a horn.

Then said Thorgerðr: "Now we have both been tricked. This is milk."

Then Egill, who had the horn to his lips, took a great bite out of it and threw it down.

Then Thorgerðr said: "What shall we do now? Our plan is spoilt. I think it would be best now, father, for us to prolong our lives, so that you could compose an elegy on Böðvarr, and I will carve it on a rod, and after that we can die if we like. I hardly think that your son Thorsteinn could compose a poem on Böðvarr, and it is not right that he should not be celebrated;—for I do not think that you and I will be at the feast when he is waked."

Egill said that he was not likely to be able to compose anything, even if he attempted it: "However I will try," said he.

Egill had had another son called Gunnarr, and he also had died a short time before. Then Egill began the poem....

Egill began to recover his spirits as he proceeded with the poem. And when it was finished he took it to Ásgerðr and Thorgerðr and his household. Then he left his bed and took his place in his high seat. He called that poem *Sonatorrek*. Afterwards Egill had a funeral feast made for his sons according to ancient custom; and when Thorgerðr went home, Egill saw her off and gave her presents. Egill dwelt for a long time at Borg and lived to a great age.'

The *Sonatorrek* is preserved in the saga almost entire. It is composed in the *Kviðuháttr*—a variety of the old epic metre in which three- and four-syllable half-verses alternate.

It will be seen that the metaphors in this poem are of a somewhat different kind from those which occur in court poetry, reflecting as they do rather the life of the Northern farmer, e.g. the beehive, the boathouse, building timber, grafting, and possibly the steelyard—and the same remark may perhaps be made in regard to the type of mind which the poem reveals. Other metaphors, however, are drawn from the mythology current among the poets of the time, e.g. the references to Rán, Ægir and Othin. Egill's allusions to the gods do not seem to be of a very serious character either here or in his other poems—with the exception of a strophe in ch. 56, where he invokes them, evidently with great gusto, in

a curse upon King Eric. His attitude towards the gods may be contrasted with that of Thórólfr of Mostr towards his 'dear friend Thor,' or that of Hrafnkell Freysgoði, who 'loved Freyr so much that he gave him half of all the best things that he had,' including a horse. Yet although the tone of Egill's references to the gods are characteristic of the times, some of the allusions to religion in the poem are of a somewhat unusual character. In particular we may notice the references to immortality in str. 10 and 21, in connection with which it is perhaps worth remembering that Egill had been for some time in Aethelstan's service, where he had been primesigned and must have acquired some knowledge of Christianity.

Unfortunately the text of the poem is in a far from satisfactory condition. It is preserved for the most part only in K, the worst of the MSS referred to on p. 128 above. Strophe 1 is found also in M and W, and str. 23 and the first half of 24 in the *Prose Edda* (*Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 2). I have followed the text of K[1] as given by Finnur Jónsson in his edition of *Egils Saga* (Copenhagen, 1886—1888), except in strophe 1 and in other cases where departure from the MS reading appeared necessary. No exhaustive collation of the readings of the various MSS. seems ever to have been published, and in many cases it is very difficult to make out from the editions what readings have MS. support. The editions of Vígfusson and Powell (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Oxford, 1883) and of F. Jónsson (*ed. cit.*, also Copenhagen, 1913) contain a very large number of emendations. In some of these cases F. Jónsson himself seems to have gone back to the MS. reading in his edition of Egilsson's *Lexicon Poeticum*[2].

[1] As represented by *AM.* 453.
[2] *Lexicon Poeticum Antiquae Linguae Septentrionalis*, revised and re-edited by F. Jónsson (Copenhagen, 1913—1916).

THE SONATORREK

1 Mjök erum[1] tregt tungu at hrœra
ór loftátt[2] ljóð prúðara[3].
Era nú vænt[4] ór[5] Viðurs[6] þýfi,
né hógdrœgt ór hugar fylgsni.

2 Esa *auð*þeystr[7], því at ekki veldr
höfuglegr, ór hyggju stað
fagnafundr *F*riggjar[8] niðja,
árborinn ór Jötunheimum.

3 Lastalauss *es lífnaði
á Nokkvers nökkva Bragi*.
Jötuns hals undir þjóta[9]
náins niðr fyr naustdurum.

4 Þvít átt mín á enda stendr
sem hræbarnar hliñr marka.
Esa karskr maðr, sás köggla[10] berr
frænda hrörs af fletjum niðr[11].

5 Þó munk mítt ok móður hrör
föður fall fyrst um telja,
þat berk út ór orðhofi
mærðar timbr máli laufgat.

6 Grimt varumk hlið þats hrönn um braut
föður míns á frændgarði.
Veitk ófult ok opit standa
sonar skarð, es mér sær um vann.

7 Mjök hefr Rán ryskt um mik;
emk *ofsnauðr* at ástvinum.
Sleit marr[12] bönd mínnar áttar,
snaran[13] þátt af sjalfum mér.

[1] M, W; *er um* K. [2] M, W; *eðr loptvæi* K. [3] M, W; *-pundara* K. [4] *vænlegt* K. [5] M, W; *um* K. [6] *Vidris* K. [7] em. G. Pálsson; *and-* K. [8] em. G. Pálsson; *þriggia* K. [9] *flota* K. [10] *þaugla* K. [11] em. Dietrich; *riður* K. [12] *mars* K. [13] om. K.

THE SONATORREK

1 It is very difficult for me to set in motion with my tongue a lofty poem...... There is now nothing to be hoped for from Othin's spoil. It is not easily to be drawn from the recesses of my soul.

2 The happy discovery of Frigg's relatives, brought long ago from Jötunheimar, cannot easily be made to flow from the depths of my heart; for it is repressed by heavy grief.

3 Faultless...Ýmir's streams are roaring down in front of the entrance to my kinsman's grave-mound.

4 For my line is drawing to an end, like the......of the forests battered......There is no happiness in the man who is carrying down from his house the last remains of one of his family.

5 Now first I will tell of my own. his father's loss, and of his mother's bereavement. Such is the timber, clad with foliage of diction, which I will bring forth from my temple of speech to build my edifice of poetry.

6 The rent which the waves have made in the pale of my father's family has been harrowing to me. Empty and unoccupied I see the place from which the sea has torn my son.

7 Greatly has Rán afflicted me. I have been despoiled of a dear friend. The sea has rent the ties of my kindred and torn a stout thread from me myself.

8 Veizt ef[1] sök sverði um rækak,
vas ölsmið allra tíma.
*Roða vagsbrœðr um voga mættak,
fœrag andvígr Ægis mani*

9 En ek ekki eiga[2] þóttumk
sakar afl við sonar[3] bana.
Þvít alþjóð fyr augum verðr
gamals þegns gengileysi.

10 Mik hefir marr miklu ræntan,
grimt es fall frænda at telja,
síðan's mínn á munvega
áttar skjöldr aflífi hvarf.

11 Veitk þat sjalfr at í syni mínum
vasa[4] ills þegns efni vaxit,
ef sá randviðr röskvask næði,
unz Hergauts hendr um tœki.

12 Æ lét flest þats faðir mælti,
þótt öll þjóð annat segði;
ok mér upp helt um *h*erbergi[5]
ok mítt afl mest um studdi.

13 Oft kemr mér *ma biarnar*
í byrvind brœðra leysi;
hyggjumk um es hildr þróask,
nýsumk hins ok hygg at því,

14 hverr mér hugaðr á hlið standi
annarr þegn við óðræði;
þarfk þess oft *of her giaurum*
verðk varfleygr es vinir þverra.

8 Know that if I could have avenged my cause with my sword, the ale-brewer would have been no more............
....

9 But I felt that I had not strength to contend with the destroyer of my son. The helplessness of the old man will be manifest to all.

10 *Greatly has the sea robbed me. It is harrowing to speak* of the loss of kinsmen—from the time that the shield of my kindred passed from this life to paths of bliss.

11 I know it of my own conviction;—the promise of a good man would have matured in my son, if that martial soul *had been allowed to ripen until the hands of the War God* had embraced him.

12 Ever did he attach most value to his father's words, even when all the world gainsaid me; he upheld me in my *house and was the chief stay of my strength.*

13 The void left by the brothers often comes into my.........
.......I wonder—I cast about me and meditate upon the question where, when the conflict rages, I shall find

14 another spirited knight who will stand by my side in the struggle. I have often had need.. . I will take *to flight prudently,* now that my friends are vanishing.

15 It is very difficult to find anyone in the world...whom we can *trust; for., he who debases his kindred barters* here his brother for treasure.

16 Finnk þat oft, es féar beiðir
....

17 Þat's ok mælt at *mangi* get*r*[1]
sonar iðgjöld, nema sjalfr ali,
né[2] þann nið es öðrum sé
borinn maðr í bróður stað.

18 Erumka þekt þjóðar sinni,
þótt sér hverr sátt um haldi.
Burr's býskips í bœ kominn
kvánar sunr kynnis leita.

19 Enn mér *fanst* í föstum þökk
hrosta hilmir á hendi stendr.
Máka upp *í áróar grímu*
rýnis reið réttri[3] halda,

20 síz sun minn sóttar brími
heiftuglegr ór heimi nam,
þanns[4] ek veit at varnaði
vamma vanr[5] við *vámæli*[6].

21 Þat mank enn es upp um hóf
í Goðheim Gauta spjalli
áttar ask þanns óx af mér,
ok kynvið kvánar minnar.

22 Áttak gótt við geira dróttin;
gerðumk tryggr at trúa hánum,
áðr vinat vagna rúni[7],
sigrhöfundr[8], um sleit við mik.

23 Blœtka[9] því bróður Vílis,
goðjaðar[10], at gjarn[11] séak,
þó hefir Míms[12] vinr mér um fengnar[13]
bölva bœtr, es et[14] betra telk[15].

[1] em. G. Pálsson; *einginn geti* K.
[2] em. G. Magnæus; *alitūe* K.
[3] em. G. Pálsson; *rjetti* K.
[4] em. Wisén; *þann* K.
[5] em. F. Jónsson; *var* K.
[6] em. B. M. Olsen; *namæli* K.
[7] em. Vígfusson; *runne* K.
[8] *sigrhaufunde* K.
[9] em. Wisén; *blótka* K; *blóta* Sn. Edda U; *blótka ek ei af*, Sn. Edda AM.
[10] *guðjarþar* Sn. Edda; *góds-* K.
[11] *gjarna* Sn. Edda R.
[12] em. Dietrich; *mis-* K; *mins-* Sn. Edda W; *minnis* Sn. Edda U.
[13] *fengit* Sn. Edda.
[14] *ef hit* K.
[15] so Pfeiffer, *telde* K; *telz* Sn. Edda W.

16 I find generally that when money is claimed....

•

17 It is also said that no one can obtain compensation for a son, unless he raise up a second son to himself, nor will he get a man who is the son of another to take the place of his adopted brother.

18 The society of mankind is unpleasing to me, even though everyone keeps the peace. My child, the son of my wife, has gone to seek his companions in the beehive dwelling.

19 But...the ruler of the malt brew stands confronting me in unyielding mood. I have not been able to hold upright my vehicle of knowledge....

20 since the raging fever snatched from the world my son who, as I can aver, led a blameless life and kept himself free from reproach.

21 I remember still how the friend of the Gautar raised up to the home of the gods a shoot of my stock sprung from me, the sapling from my wife.

22 I was friendly with the Lord of the Spear; I trusted him without misgiving until the Lord of cars, the awarder of victory, broke friendship with me.

23 It is not because I am eager to do so that I am worshipping Vili's brother, the chief of the gods. Yet Mímir's friend has granted me compensation for my misfortunes which I account as a substantial benefit.

16 Finnk þat oft, es féar beiðir
....

17 Þat's ok mælt at *mangi getr*[1]
sonar iðgjöld, nema sjalfr ali,
né[2] þann nið es öðrum sé
borinn maðr í bróður stað.

18 Erumka þekt þjóðar sinni,
þótt sér hverr sátt um haldi.
Burr's býskips í bœ kominn
kvánar sunr kynnis leita.

19 Enn mér *fanst* í föstum þökk
hrosta hilmir á hendi stendr.
Máka upp *í áróar grímu*
rýnis reið réttri[3] halda,

20 síz sun mínn sóttar brími
heiftuglegr ór heimi nam,
þanns[4] ek veit at varnaði
vamma vanr[5] við *vámæli*[6].

21 Þat mank enn es upp um hóf
í Goðheim Gauta spjalli
áttar ask þanns óx af mér,
ok kynvið kvánar mínnar.

22 Áttak gótt við geira dróttin;
gerðumk tryggr at trúa hánum,
áðr vinat vagna rúni[7],
sigrhöfundr[8], um sleit við mik.

23 Blœtka[9] því bróður Vílis,
goðjaðar[10], at gjarn[11] séak,
þó hefir Míms[12] vinr mér um fengnar[13]
bölva bœtr, es et[14] betra telk[15].

[1] em. G. Pálsson; *einginn geti* K. [2] em. G. Magnæus; *alitūe* K.
[3] em. G. Pálsson; *rjetti* K. [4] em. Wisén; *þann* K.
[5] em. F. Jónsson; *var* K. [6] em. B. M. Olsen; *namæli* K.
[7] em. Vígfusson; *runne* K. [8] *sigrhaufunde* K.
[9] em. Wisén; *blótka* K; *blóta* Sn. Edda U; *blótka ek ei af*, Sn. Edda AM.
[10] *guðjarþar* Sn. Edda; *góds-* K. [11] *gjarna* Sn. Edda R.
[12] em. Dietrich; *mis-* K; *mins-* Sn. Edda W; *minnis* Sn. Edda U.
[13] *fengit* Sn. Edda. [14] *ef hit* K. [15] so Pfeiffer, *telde* K; *telz* Sn. Edda W.

16 I find generally that when money is claimed....

•

17 It is also said that no one can obtain compensation for a son, unless he raise up a second son to himself, nor will he get a man who is the son of another to take the place of his adopted brother.

18 The society of mankind is unpleasing to me, even though everyone keeps the peace. My child, the son of my wife, has gone to seek his companions in the beehive dwelling.

19 But...the ruler of the malt brew stands confronting me in unyielding mood. I have not been able to hold upright my vehicle of knowledge....

20 since the raging fever snatched from the world my son who, as I can aver, led a blameless life and kept himself free from reproach.

21 I remember still how the friend of the Gautar raised up to the home of the gods a shoot of my stock sprung from me, the sapling from my wife.

22 I was friendly with the Lord of the Spear, I trusted him without misgiving until the Lord of cars, the awarder of victory, broke friendship with me.

23 It is not because I am eager to do so that I am worshipping Vili's brother, the chief of the gods. Yet Mímir's friend has granted me compensation for my misfortunes which I account as a substantial benefit.

24 Gafumk íþrótt ulfs um[1] bági,
vígi vanr, vammi firrða,
ok þat geð es gerðak mér
vísa fíandr af[2] vélöndum.

25 Erumk[3] torvelt. Tveggja bága
njörvanift á nesi[4] stendr.
Skalk þó glaðr góð*um*[5] vilja
ok óhryggr Heljar bíða.

[1] U; *ok* K. [2] em. G. Magnæus; *ad* K. [3] *nu er mier* K. [4] *nesin* K. [5] em. Wisén; *með goðan* K.

24 The foe of the wolf, long tried in battle, granted me faultless art and a disposition which has enabled me to expose the hostility of secret foes.

25 Hard is my lot. The giant sister of Othin's adversary is standing on the headland. Yet will I gladly await my death, with a good will and without regret.

XIII. THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

The following poem is preserved in ch. 12—15 of the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrekr.* Unlike the rest of the pieces contained in this volume it belongs definitely to heroic poetry, and its nearest affinities are with the heroic poems of the *Edda*, especially perhaps with the *Atlakviða*, which it resembles both in language and subject, as will be pointed out below. In some respects indeed it would seem to be of a more historical character than the heroic poems of the *Edda*. It presents clearly the national features of the invasion which it describes—thus avoiding the usual tendency of Norse poetry to lose sight of the national in the personal, and to represent great wars as struggles between wealthy families. We may note too that the special characteristic of the Huns—their wealth in horses—is more prominent here than anywhere else. All these features go to show the antiquity of the poem, or at least of the poetic tradition on which it is based.

It is clear that much of the prose in the part of the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrekr* to which our poem belongs is a close paraphrase of lost verses. This and other questions relating to the history of the poem have been discussed by Heusler[1].

The same scholar, following Heinzel[2], holds that certain features of the poem point to a continental South Teutonic origin—such as e.g. (1) words and phrases used in a sense which is familiar to us from German but not from Norse poetry; e.g. *skalkr*, str. 10; *þar í Húnalandi*, str. 2; *Angantýs maþr*, str. 27, etc.; (2) the frequent verse conclusion ◡ ≚; e.g. 2, 1; 10, 2; 14, 1; 15, 2, etc.; (3) the construction *saxi ok með sverði*, etc., strophes 2, 7. Some of these, if they

[1] *Eddica Minora* (Dortmund, 1903), p. XIII; cf. also Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga' in *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Classe der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), Vol. CXIV, p. 457.

[2] Cf. 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 449 ff.

are not of foreign origin, must be regarded as indications of considerable antiquity. *Skalkr*, although bearing the required sense both in England and Germany, is used in Norse elsewhere only in the sense of 'rogue'[1].

There are many expressions used in the poem which recall *Atlakviða*, *Helgakviða Hundingsbana II* and other early heroic poems. Some of these will be pointed out in the notes below. We may notice too the curious resemblance between the opening of this poem and that of the *Atlakviða*. In each case a messenger (*seggr*) is sent by a prince to the hall of his enemy to demand an interview. On entering he finds the occupants seated at a feast, and proceeds to announce his message. We may further compare the catalogue of treasures and possessions offered by Atli to Gunnarr (*Atlakviða*, str. 4, 5) with the very similar list demanded by Hloðr from Angantýr (*Battle of the Goths*, etc., str. 7, 8). In each case the reply is accompanied by a second catalogue. The scene of both poems is laid in the same country and indicated by place-names and descriptions (sometimes of an unusual character) which are common to both, such as *stöðum Danpar* (*B. of G.*, str. 8; *Akv.* str. 5), *hrís þat et mæra es Myrkviðr heitir* (*B. of G.*, str. 8; *Akv.* str. 5).

Some of the names which are found in our poem and the *Atlakviða* occur also in the opening strophes (as well as in the prose introduction) of the *Völundarkviða*. We hear there of three valkyries, of whom one is called Hervor (daughter of Hlöðvér), the same name as that of Angantýr's warrior sister. One of her companions is called Ölrún, whose father's name Kíarr occurs also in the *Atlakviða*, str. 7. After spending seven years with Völundr and his brothers they fly away *á Myrkvan við* to resume a life of warfare.

Confused reminiscences of the story seem to be preserved in Saxo's *Danish History*, (1) in the names Humblus and Lotherus, Book I, p. 2, etc.; (2) in the incident of Eric's visit to the army of the Huns, Book V, pp. 190 f, 194 f. The sources from which Saxo derived his information are

[1] Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 459 f.; but see note to str. 10 below (p. 202).

uncertain, but Ólrík[1] holds that (1) comes from Danish tradition, while (2) is to be traced to Icelandic-Norwegian sources. Much of the latter story is given by Saxo *in verse*, and it is possible that the tradition reached him partly in the form of poems. His narrative contains some elements which are not found in the *Hervarar Saga* but which yet appear to bear the stamp of antiquity.

The characters of the story were also known to the poet of *Widsith*. In l. 116 *Angantýr* and *Hlöðr* and perhaps *Sifka* appear again as *Incgenþeow* and *Hliþe* and *Sifeca*, though the context seems to suggest that the last-named was a man. *Ormarr* is certainly the *Wyrmhere* of l. 119, and no doubt there is a reference to the Goths (*Hreðgotan*) in the *Hræda here* who are mentioned as occupying the forest on the Vistula (*Wistlawudu*) in l. 121. If this forest is to be identified with the Myrkviðr of our poem, as seems likely, the story probably refers to the struggle between the Goths and the Huns towards the close of the fourth century. It is to be noted that the *Ætlan leodum* of *Widsith* l. 122 may be merely a periphrasis for Huns[2].

Various attempts have been made to identify the battle. Rafn[3] regarded it as identical with that described by Jordanes, ch. 17, as taking place between the Goths and the Gepidae, and held that the name of the River Aucha (Goth. *ahwa* 'river') appears in the first element of *Árheimar*. On the other hand Heinzel[4] suggested the battle fought on the Catalaunian Plain in 451 A.D. between the Romans and Visigoths on the one hand and the Huns and Ostrogoths under Attila on the other. This view has been accepted by F. Jónsson[5], Mogk[6], Ólrík[7], etc.; but it is improbable, as Chambers[8] points out, that the name of an unknown leader (Humli)

[1] Cf. 'Kilderne til Sakses Oldhistorie,' in *Aarb. f. Nord. Oldk. og Hist.* 1892, p. 130 f.
[2] Cf. V. Jagić, 'Slavisches in nordischen Sagen,' in *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, Vol. XI, 1888, p. 308.
[3] *Antiquités russes* (Copenhagen, 1850), Vol. I, p. 111 f.
[4] 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 465 ff.
[5] *Den Islandske Litteraturs Historie* (Copenhagen, 1907), p. 344.
[6] *Geschichte der Norwegisch-Isländischen Literatur* (Strassburg, 1904), p. 838.
[7] *Danmarks Heltedigtning* (Copenhagen, 1910), Vol. II, p. 228.
[8] *Widsith* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 48.

should have been substituted for that of the famous Attila who figures so largely in Teutonic tradition.

The name *Myrkviðr* means 'dark forest,' and may well be a general term for any part of the forest region of central Europe, or what we may perhaps call the traditional forest land of heroic poetry. I see no reason why it should not be used in this poem for the *Wistlawudu* of *Widsith*, which is mentioned in close connection with Wyrmhere (Ormarr) and which must be located in Poland. This would harmonise better than any locality in the West with the references to the Dniepr. It is worth noting too that the words *und Harvaða fjöllum*, which occur in a verse in ch. 12, just before the beginning of the poem, may preserve an early Teutonic form of the name of the Carpathians[1].

The fact that we cannot identify any of the characters from historical sources is natural enough, if the scene of the poem is to be placed in a part of Europe which was outside the horizon of Roman historians It is commonly assumed by modern writers that the Goths evacuated their old home in the third century, when we first hear of them on the lower Danube. But there is no satisfactory evidence that these early movements of the Goths were due to anything more than an expansion, such as we find later, e.g. among the Franks and the Alamanni. It must be remembered that the Romans were as a rule aware only of movements in the neighbourhood of their own frontiers. Apart from vague rumours, they had no means of ascertaining whether a remote region had been evacuated. If the whole nation had migrated at this time, the remembrance of their old home would scarcely have been preserved in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The passage cited above from *Widsith* supplies definite evidence—the trustworthiness of which I see no

reason for doubting—that there was a Gothic population in Poland till at least towards the close of the fourth century. On the other hand, by the beginning of the sixth century the Slavs are found on the line between the Danube and the 'peoples of the Danes[1],' so that some time before this Poland must have ceased to be a Teutonic area. Moreover, as there is no reference to Attila, the events described in our poem are probably to be regarded as having taken place before his time. Several names in the poem are clearly old, e.g. *Danpar*, *Grýtingar*, and probably *Jössurr*, *Gizurr*, *Dylgja*[2]. The presumption is that the story was dealt with in poetry at an early period, either by the Goths or some neighbouring people, and subsequently made its way to the North.

The only early (vellum) MSS. of the *Hervarar Saga* which have survived are the *Hauksbók* (H), *AM.* 544, which breaks off in ch. 11, and the *Codex Regius* (R), no. 2845 in the Royal Library at Copenhagen, which breaks off in str. 10 of our poem. From this point we are entirely dependent on paper MSS., dating for the most part from the seventeenth century. Of these *AM.* 192 (i), *AM.* 202 (k), *AM.* 582 (l) and *Salanska Saml.* 80 of the University Library at Upsala (u) all appear to be derived from a lost seventeenth century MS. This lost MS. appears to have used both H and R for the earlier chapters of the saga, and there is no reason for doubting that it did so also in the later parts which are now lost in the vellums. The relationship between i, k, and l is very close, and no doubt all three are derived from the lost seventeenth century MS. through a common intermediary. Again, k and l sometimes show points in common which differ from i, and k contains corrections made by the scribe himself as well as by Arni Magnússon. The fourth paper MS. (u) sometimes offers better readings than the other three, and sometimes shows textual corruptions not found in them. It is no doubt derived from the lost seventeenth century MS. through a different intermediary.

[1] Procopius, *Gothic War*, II, xv, 3.
[2] Cf. notes to these names, p. 198 ff. below.

A further MS., *Holm.* no. 120 (s), which belongs to the k, l group, contains additions and corrections from the hand of the Icelander Guðmundr Olaffson (†1695)[1].

According to S. Bugge[2], the remaining MSS. have no independent value. Their variant readings rarely merit consideration, and only as emendations. Such is *AM.* 345 (a), which Bugge holds is based on l or on a closely related MS., probably influenced by u. It is on this MS. that Rafn's text is based. The following text is, with the reservations stated below, substantially that of Bugge as published by him in *Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold* (Christiania, 1873), though the text of Heusler and Ranisch[3] has been consulted throughout. Bugge based his text as far as str. 10 on R, with occasional readings from the paper MSS. After R stops he made a text from a collation of the paper MSS., occasionally adding or transposing passages on the authority of other poems and of the prose of the saga I have followed his text for the most part only in so far as it has the authority of the MSS. of the *Hervarar Saga*.

The metre may be described as a combination of *Fornyrðislag* and *Málaháttr*, somewhat similar to what is found in the *Atlakviða* and the *Hamðismál* As in these poems, there is a considerable amount of irregularity, half lines of three and six units being found. In the texts which have come down to us alliteration is frequently wanting, and in several cases it is doubtful whether passages should be printed as prose or verse (e g. strophes 18, 26 ff.). The explanation may be either that the verses have been forgotten, or that the author of the saga was paraphrasing rather than quoting. Emendations based on metrical considerations are therefore better avoided[4].

[1] For further details relating to the paper MSS. cf. Bugge, Introduction to his edition of *Hervarar Saga* in *Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold* (Christiania, 1873); Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' pp. 417—437, Heusler and Ranisch, *Eddica Minora* (Dortmund, 1903), p. vii f.

[2] *Loc. cit.*; cf. also Heinzel, *op cit.*, p. 433, Heusler and Ranisch, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 1 ff.

[4] I have, however, in conformity with the plan adopted in the other pieces, followed Bugge and the other editors in giving the usual poetic forms instead of the late forms which frequently occur in the MSS.

THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

1 Ár kváðu Humla Húnum[1] ráða,
Gizur Gautum, Gotum Angantý[2],
Valdar Dönum, en Völum Kíar[3]
Alrek[4] enn frœkna[5] Enskri þjóðu.

2 Hlöðr vas þar[6] borinn í Húnalandi[7]
saxi ok með[8] sverði, síðri[9] brynju,
hjalmi[10] hringreifðum, hvössum[11] mæki,
mari vel tömum[12], á mörk enni helgu.

3 Hlöðr reið austan[13], Heiðreks arfi[14],
kom hann[15] at garði þar es Gotar[16] byggja
á Árheima, arfs at kveðja[17],
þar drakk Angantýr erfi Heiðreks[18].

4 Segg fann hann úti fyrir sal hávum,
ok síðförlan síðan kvaddi:
'Inn gakktu, seggr, í sal hávan,
bið mér Angantý andspjöll bera.'

Sá gekk inn fyrir konungsborð ok kvaddi Angantý konung vel, ok mælti síðan:

5 'Hér es Hlöðr[19] kominn Heiðreks arfþegi[20],
bróðir þinn enn beðskammi[21];
mikill es sá maðr mjök[22] á marsbaki;
vill nú, þjóðann[23], við þik tala.'

6 Rymr vas í ranni; risu með góðum,
vildi hverr heyra hvat[24] Hlöðr mælti,
ok þau[25] es Angantýr andsvör veitti.

[1] s.; the rest *fir* (*firir*) *her*. [2] *Angantyr*, a, i, k, l.
[3] *Kiar* R, i; *Völlum Akjar* a. [4] *Álfrek* s; *Álfrekur* i, k, l; *Alrekr* R.
[5] s; *frækni* the rest. [6] R, i; *þá* k, l, a; om. s.
[7] R, s; *Humla landi* i, k, l, a. [8] om. s. [9] *ok með siðri* s.
[10] R, i; om. a, s. [11] *ok hvössum* a, k, l, s. [12] R, i; *tömðum* a, k, l, s.
[13] R, i; *utan* a, k, l, s; *sunnann* u.
[14] So all MSS. according to Bugge; *mögr* R (Rafn). [15] R; om. the rest.
[16] R; cf. also prose *Gotum Angantýr*; *Gautar* a, i, k, l, s.
[17] R, i; *krefja* a, k, l, s. [18] s; *erfi Heiðreks konungs* the rest.
[19] *Hlöðverr* a, k, l. [20] R; *arfi* u.
[21] *beðskam(m)i* R, i; *beðrammi* a, k (?), l, s; *bandskai* (for *bauðskái*, Bugge) u.
[22] a, i, k, l; *mögr* u; *ungr* R. [23] R; *þjóðaas* a, i, k, l.
[24] *hvat er* a; *þat er* s. [25] em. Bugge; *þat* MSS.

THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

1 Long ago, according to the story, Humli ruled the Huns, Gizurr the Gautar, Angantýr the Goths, Valdarr the Danes, and Kíarr the Valar, while Alrekr the Bold ruled the English nation.

2 Hlöðr was born in the land of the Huns in a holy forest, with cutlass and with sword, with ample coat of mail, with treasure-decked helmet, with keen blade, and with well-trained steed.

3 Hloðr, Heiðrekr's heir, rode from the east, till he came to Árheimar, to the court where the Goths dwell, to demand his inheritance. There Angantýr was holding Heiðrekr's funeral feast.

4 Outside the lofty hall he met a man who had arrived late, and thereupon addressed him

'Enter, sir, the high hall and bid Angantýr hold parley with me.'

He entered and stood before Angantýr's table and saluted the King, saying:

5 'Thy base-born brother Hlöðr, Heiðrekr's heir, has come hither. Very mighty is the man as he sits on his steed. It is his wish that he may speak with thee forthwith, O King.'

6 A clamour arose in the hall. They stood up with the hero; everyone was anxious to hear what Hloðr had said and the answer which Angantýr would give.

Þá mælti Angantýr: 'Vel þú kominn, Hlöðr bróðir[1]; gakk inn með oss til drykkju, ok drekkum mjǫð eftir föður okkarn fyrst til sama ok öllum oss til vegs með öllum várum sóma.' Hlöðr segir: 'Til annars fóru vér hingat, enn at kýla vömb vára'; þá kvað Hlöðr:

7 'Hafa vil ek halft alt[2] þat es Heiðrekr átti,
al[3] ok af oddi, einum skatti,
kú ok af kalfi, kvern þjótandi,
þý ok af þræli ok þeira barni[4].

8 'hrís þat et[5] mæra[6] es Myrkviðr heitir[7],
gröf þá ena helgu[8] es stendr á Gotþjóðu[9],
stein þann enn fagra[10] es stendr[11] á stöðum Danpar[12],
halfar herváðir[13] þær[14] es Heiðrekr átti,
lönd[15] ok lýða[16] ok ljósa[17] bauga.'

Angantýr kvað:

9 'Bresta[18] mun[19], bróðir, en blikhvíta rönd[20],
ok kaldr geirr koma við annan[21],
ok margr gumi í gras hníga,
áðr enn[22] Tyrfing í tvau[23] deilak[24]
eða þér, Humlungr, halfan arf gefak[25].

10 'Býð ek þér, frændi[26], fagrar veigar[27],
fé ok[28] fjölð meiðma[29], sem þik[30] fremst tíðir;
tólf hundruð gef ek þér manna, tólf hundruð gef ek þér mara,
tólf hundruð gef ek þér skalka, þeira es skjöld bera.

[1] *v. þ. k. vel þú verir* i, k, l. [2] om. a. [3] R; *af al* a, i, k, l, s, u.
[4] R; *börnum* a, i, k, l, s. [5] R; *hrísi þui enu* i, k, l, u, a (*hinu* l, a).
[6] i; *meira* R; *mæta* a, k, l, u.
[7] *Myrkviðir heita* R; *-ur heita* i, l; *-ur heitir* u.
[8] a, i, k, l, u; *enu góðu* R.
[9] em. from str. 12; *Götu þióðar* R; *Goðþióðu* i, u; *götþióða* l; *götu þióþar* k; *götu þióþa* a. [10] a, i, k, l, u; *meira* R. [11] R, *a*.
[12] u; *Damp aar* R. [13] R; *herborgir* a, i, k, l, s. [14] R; om. a, i, k, l, u.
[15] *landa* (*-i* u) a, i, k, l, u. [16] om. *ok lyða* R. [17] R, i; *ljósra* a.
[18] B, a, u, l; *bera* i, k. [19] a, i, k, l; *mun áðr* u; *mun fyr* R.
[20] s; *lind en blikhvíta* R; *en blikhvíta lind* u; *minn blikhvíta hönd* a, i, k, l.
[21] em. Bugge; *annat* i, k, l; *randir* a; *ok...annan* om. R.
[22] a, i, k, l; *er* u. [23] R; *i mitt* a, i, k, l. [24] *deila* R; a, i, k, l; *deili* u.
[25] i, k; *gefa* l, u; *ek mun Humlung hálfan láta eða Tyrfing í tvau deila* R.
[26] R; *ek mun bjóða þér*, the rest. [27] *til heilla sátta* R.
[28] *mikit ríki ok œrit fé*, XII *hundruð vápnaðra* R; *ek vil* etc. s.
[29] s; *meiðna* a, i, k, l, u. [30] em. Bugge; *mik* a, i, k,

Then Angantýr spoke:

'Thou art welcome, Hlöðr, my brother; enter and take part in our feast. Let us first drink mead in honour of our father's memory, and to the glory of us all with full ceremony.'

Hlöðr replied:

'We are come hither for a different purpose than to fill our stomachs.'

Then he said:

7 'I will have half of all that Heiðrekr owned—of his tools and weapons, his undivided hoard, cows and calves and the murmuring handmill, slavewoman and bondman, and their children with them.

8 'I will have half the noble forest which is called Myrkviðr, the holy tombs which stand among the people of the Goths, the beautiful stones which stand at Danpr's abode, the raiment of battle which Heiðrekr owned, his lands and liegemen and his glittering treasures.'

Angantýr replied

9 'The gleaming-white shield will be cloven, my brother, and cold spear will clash with spear, and many a man will sink to the grass before I will divide Tyrfing in two, or give thee the half of the patrimony, thou child of Humli.

10 'I offer thee, my kinsman, beautiful goblets, cattle and abundance of jewels, whatsoever thou most desirest. Twelve hundred men will I give thee, twelve hundred steeds will I give thee, twelve hundred squires will I give thee, such as bear the shield.

11 'Manni[1] gef ek hverjum mart at þiggja
annat[2] œðra enn hann *áðr á*[3];
mey gef ek hverjum manni at þiggja,
meyju spenni ek hverri men at halsi[4].

12 'Mun ek um[5] þik sitjanda silfri mæla,
enn ganganda þik[6] gulli steypa,
svá[7] á vega[8] alla velti baugar;
þriðjung Gotþjóðar[9] því skaltu einn[6] ráða.'

Gizurr Grýtingaliði, fóstri Heiðreks konungs, vas þá með Angantý konungi; hann vas þá ofrgamall; ok es hann heyrði boð Angantýs konungs, þótti honum hann ofmikit bjóða, ok mælti:

13 'Þetta es þiggjanda[10] þýjar[11] barni[12],
barni[12] þýjar[11] þótt[13] sé borinn konungi[14].
Þá hornungr[15] á haugi sat,
es[16] öðlingr arfi skifti.'

Hlöðr reiddist nú mjök, er hann vas þýbarn ok hornungr kallaðr, ef hann þægi boð bróður síns; snöri hann þá þegar í brott með alla sína menn, til þess es hann kom heim í Húnaland til Humla konungs, móðurföður síns; ok sagði honum at Angantýr bróðir hans hafði [eigi] unnt honum helmingaskiftis. Humli konungr spurði alt tal þeira; varð hann þá reiðr mjök, ef Hlöðr dótturson hans skyldi ambáttarson heita, ok mælti:

14 'Sitja skulum[17] vér í vetr ok sællega lifa,
drekka ok dœma dýrar veigar;
kenna Húnum[18] hervápn[19] búa,
þau es djarfliga skulum fram bera.

15 'Vel skulu vér[20], Hlöðr, herlið búa,
ok rammlega[21] hildi heyja[22]
með tólfvetra[23] mengi ok tvævetrum fola,
svá skal Húna her um safna.'

[1] *manni...á* om. k. [2] ll. 2, 3 om. a. [3] em. Bugge; *á nýðri* i, l; *áráðri* u. [4] *mæn spenni ek ĩri at halsi* u. [5] om. a, k, l. [6] om. i, k, l. [7] *so at* k. [8] u; *vegu* a, i, k, l. [9] k; *Godþioþar* (*Gód-* l) i, l; *god þioda* u. [10] *þiggjandi* l, u. [11] em. Bugge; *þyar* mss. l. 1; *þijar* l, l. 2. [12] *barmi* u. [13] i; *ok þótt* k, l, u. [14] *konungr* a, i, k, l. [15] *Humlungr* a. [16] *enn* s, a. [17] *skulu* u. [18] *hvörjum* u. [19] s; *vápn at búa* the rest. [20] k, l, a; *þer* i; *vér þér* u. [21] s; *rammlegar* a, k, l; *framlega* u; *franliga* i. [22] u; *hildir hey(j)a* a, i, k, l. [23] i, s; *xii var gömlum* u; *vetra gömlu* k, l, a.

11 'I will give to every man a bounteous gift, finer than anything that he had before; I will give to each man a maiden as a gift, and round every maiden's throat I will clasp a necklace.

12 'As thou sittest I will encase thee in silver, and as thou walkest I will cover thee with rings of gold so that they will roll in all directions, and thereby shalt thou have a third part of the Gothic nation under thine own sway.'

Gizurr, a liegeman from the Grýtingar, King Heiðrekr's foster-father, was then with King Angantýr. He was a very old man at that time. And when he heard King Angantýr's offer, he thought that he was offering too much, and said:

13 'This is indeed an offer for a bondwoman's child, for a bondwoman's child, even though his father was a king. When the prince divided his inheritance the illegitimate son was sitting on the mound.'

Hlöðr now grew very angry at being called the child of a bondwoman and an illegitimate son, if he accepted his brother's offer; so he departed at once with all his men and returned home to King Humli, his mother's father, in the land of the Huns. And he told Humli that Angantýr his brother had not granted him an equal share. King Humli enquired as to all that had passed between them, and was very angry that Hlöðr, the son of his daughter, should be called the son of a bondmaid, and he said:

14 'We will stay at home for the winter and take our joy of life. We will quaff the costly draughts and we will hold council together. We will instruct the Huns to prepare the weapons of war which we shall bravely carry to battle.

15 'Nobly will we array a host of warriors, O Hlöðr, and manfully will we offer battle, with troops from the age of twelve years, with steeds from the age of two years—even thus shall the host of the Huns be assembled.'

Þenna vetr sátu þeir Humli konungr ok Hlöðr um kyrt um várit drógu þeir her saman svá mikinn at aleyða vas eftir í Húnalandi vígra manna....Enn fimm þúsundir [váru] í hverja fylking, þeira er þrettán hundruð váru í hverri þúsund, enn í hvert hundrað fernir fjórir tigir; enn þessar fylkingar váru þrjár ok þrír tigir. Sem þessi herr kom saman riðu þeir skóg þann, es Myrkviðr heitir, es skilr Húnaland ok Gotaland. Enn sem þeir kómu af skóginum, þá váru bygðir stórar ok vellir sléttir, enn á völlunum stóð borg ein fögr; þar réð fyrir Hervör, systir Angantýs ok Hlöðs, ok með henni Ormarr fóstri hennar; váru þau sett þar til landgæzlu fyrir her Húna; höfðu þau þar mikit lið.

Þat var einn morgun um sólar upprás, at Hervör stóð upp á kastala einum yfir borgarhliði; hun sá jóreyki stóra suðr til skógarins, svá löngum fal sólina; því næst sá hun glóa undir jóreyknum, sem á gull eitt liti, fagra skjöldu ok gulli lagða, gylta hjalma ok hvítar brynjur. Sá hun þá at þetta vas Húna herr ok mikill mannfjöldi. Hervör gekk ofan skyndilega ok kallar lúðrsvein sinn ok bað blása saman lið. Ok síðan mælti Hervör: 'Takið vápn yður ok búizt til orrostu, enn þú, Ormarr, ríð i mót Húnum ok bjóð þeim orrostu fyrir borgarhliði enu syðra.' Ormarr kvað:

16 'Skal ek víst ríða ok rönd bera
Gota[1] þjóðum, gunni at heyja.'

Þá reið Ormarr af borginni mót Húnum; hann kallaði þá hátt, bað þá ríða til borgarinnar ok mælti: 'Úti fyrir borgarhliðinu suðr á völlunum þar býð ek yðr orrostu.'... Enn með því at Húnar hafa lið miklu meira, snöri mannfallinu i lið þeira Hervarar; ok um síðir fell Hervör ok mikit lið umhverfis hana. Enn es Ormarr sá fall hennar, flýði hann ok allir þeir es lifit þágu....Ok sem Ormarr kom fyrir Angantý konung, þá kvað hann:

17 'Sunnan em ek kominn at segja spjöll þessi:
Sviðin es öll mörk[2] ok Myrkviðar heiðr[3],
drifinn öll Gotþjóð gumna blóði.

[1] k; *Gauta* i, l, s, u; *Gauta kindum* (for *G. þj.*) a.
[2] s; *myrk* u; *mörk ok* om. a, i, k, l. [3] *heiðri* i, k, l, s; *heiður* u.

That winter King Humli and Hloðr remained quiet; but the following spring they collected such a large army that the land of the Huns was swept bare of fighting men....And there were five 'thousand' in each legion, each 'thousand' containing thirteen 'hundreds,' and each 'hundred' four times forty men; and these legions were thirty-three in number.

When these troops had assembled, they rode through the forest which was called Myrkviðr, and which separated the land of the Huns from that of the Goths. And when they emerged from the forest, they came upon a thickly inhabited country with level fields; and in these plains there was a fair fortress. It was under the command of Hervör, the sister of Angantýr and Hloðr, and Ormarr her foster-father was with her. They had been appointed to defend the land against the host of the Huns, and they had a large army there.

It happened one morning at sunrise that as Hervör was standing on the summit of a tower over the gate of the fortress, she looked southwards towards the forest, and saw clouds of dust arising from a great body of horse, by which the sun was hidden for a long time. Next she saw a gleam beneath the dust, as though she were gazing on a mass of gold—fair shields overlaid with gold, gilded helmets and white corslets. Then she perceived that it was the host of the Huns coming on in vast numbers. She descended hastily and called her trumpeter, and bade him sound the assembly [illegible]

16 'I will certainly take my shield, and ride with the troops of the Goths to give battle'

Then Ormarr rode out of the fortress against the Huns. He called loudly, bidding them ride up to the fort, saying: 'Outside the gate of the fortress, in the plains to the south—there will I offer you battle' ..But the host of the Huns was far superior in numbers, so that Hervör's troops began to suffer heavy losses, and in the end Hervör fell, and a great part of her army round about her.

And when Ormarr saw her fall, he fled with all those who still survived....And when he came into the presence of King Angantýr, he cried:

17 'I am come from the south, and this is the news which I have to offer. The whole of the woodland and forest of Myrkviðr is ablaze and all the land of the Goths is drenched with the blood of men.

'Mey veit ek Heiðreks...
18 systur þína svigna til jarðar,
hafa Húnar hana felda,
ok marga aðra yðra þegna.

19 'Léttari görðist hun at *böðvi*[1] enn við biðil rœða
eða í bekk at fara at brúðar gangi[2].'

Angantýr konungr, þá es hann heyrði þetta, brá hann grönum, ok tók seint til orða, ok mælti þetta um síðir: 'Óbróðurlega vastu leikin, en ágæta systir,' ok síðan leit hann yfir hirð sína, ok vas ekki mart lið með honum; hann kvað þá:

20 'Mjök váru[3] vér margir es vér mjöð drukkum,
nú erum[4] vér færi[5] es vér fleiri skyldum.

21 'Sékkat ek þann í mínu liði,
þótt ek biðja[6] ok baugum kaupa[7],
es muni ríða *ok*[8] rönd bera,
ok þeira[9] Húna herlið finna[10].'

Gizurr gamli sagði:

22 'Ek mun þar[11] einskis eyris krefja,
ne skjallanda[12] skarfs ór gulli;
þó mun ek ríða *ok*[13] rönd bera,
Húna[14] þjóðum herstaf[15] bjóða.'

Gizurr herklæddist með góðum vápnum, ok hljóp á hes[t] sinn, sem ungr væri; þá mælti hann til konungs:

23 'Hvar skal ek Húnum hervíg kenna?'

Angantýr konungr kvað:

24 'Kendu at[16] Dylgju[17] ok á Dúnheiði,
ok á þeim öllum Jössurfjöllum[18];

1 em. Bugge; *littare görðisk hón á hauðre* i, k, l (*littré* l); om. (*l.*) u[...] at *badni*. 2 *ad leik i sarã eñ ad lūd geingu* u. 3 *vorum* i. 4 i; [...] 5 *færri* a. 6 *biði* a. 7 *kaupi* a. 8 em. Bugge; i[...] 9 *þeir* a, i, l; om. k. 10 *bera* u. 11 i, k, l; [...] 12 em. Bugge; *skjalldanda* u; *skulldanda* a, i, k, l. 13 em. Bugge; *í* a, i, k, l, u. 14 a, i, k, l; *gotta* u. 15 k; *gunni at* a, i, l, u (*ad*). 16 *á* a, i, k, l; *ad* u. 17 a, k; *Dilgi*[...] 18 *Iosur-* i; *Iassar-* u; *Iossar-* a; *Ióssár-* k; *Ióssar-* l? *Iossa-* s.

18 'I have certain knowledge that thy sister, King Heiðrekr's daughter..., has fallen lifeless. The Huns have laid her low, and many of your warriors with her.

19 'More readily did she make ready for battle than to talk with a wooer or to take her seat at the bridal feast.'

When King Angantýr heard that he drew back his lips, and it was some time before he spoke. Then he said: 'In no brotherly wise hast thou been treated, my noble sister!'

Then he surveyed his retinue, and his band of men was but small; then he said:

20 'When we were drinking mead we were a great host, but now when we should be many our numbers are few.

21 'I do not see a single man in my host who, even if I were to beg him and offer him a rich reward, would take his shield and ride to seek out the host of the Huns.'

Gizurr the old said:

22 'I will not ask a single ounce or ringing piece of gold; yet I will take my shield and ride to challenge the troops of the Huns to battle.

Gizurr armed himself with good weapons and leapt on his horse as if he had been a young man. Then he said to the King:

23 'Where shall I challenge the Huns to battle?'

King Angantýr replied

24 'Challenge them to battle at Dylgja and on [illegible] and on all the mountains of [illegible], where the [illegible]

þar[1] oft Gotar gunni[2] háðu,
ok fagran sigr frægir vágu[3]'.

Nú reið Gizurr í brott ok þar til, es hann kom í her Húna; hann reið eigi nær enn svá at hann mátti tala við þá; þá kallar hann hári röddu ok kvað:

25 'Felmtr[4] es yð*ru*[5] fylki, feigr es yðarr[5] vísir,
gnæfar yðr gunnfani, gramr es[6] yðr[7] Óðinn.

26 'Býð ek yðr at[8] Dylgju[9] ok á Dúnheiði
orrostu undir *Jösurfjöllum*[10];
hræse yður[11] at há hvorju[12],
ok láti svá Óðinn flein fljúga sem ek fyrir mæli.'

Đá es Hlöðr hafði heyrt orð Gizurar, þá kvað hann:

27 'Takið *es*[13] Gizur, mann Angantýs, kominn af[14] Árheimum.'

Humli konungr sagði:

28 'Eigi skulum[15] árum spilla, þeim es fara einir saman.'

...Gizurr drap þá hest sinn sporum ok reið á fund Angantýs konungs ok gekk fyrir hann ok kvaddi hann vel. Konungr spyrr hvárt hann hefði fundit Húna. Gizurr mælti: 'Talaða ek við þá, ok stefnda ek þeim á vígvöll á Dúnheiði ok at Dylgjudölum.' Angantýr spyrr hvat mikit lið Húnar hafa. Gizurr mælti: 'Mikit es þeira mengi.

29 Sex[16] ein eru seggja fylki[17],
í fylki hverju fimm þúsundir[18],
í þúsund hverri[19] þrettán hundruð[20],
í hundraði hverju halir[21] fjórtaldir.'

Á öðrum degi hófu þeir sína orrostu; ok börðust allan þann dag ok fóru at kveldi í herbúðir sínar. Đeir börðust

[1] So Verelius; *bar* u; *baru* i; *báru* a, k, l.
[2] So Verelius; *ok geir* a, i, k, l; *gū* u.
[3] u; *fn̄go* k; *feingu* a, i, l; *unnu* cod. 582.
[4] a; *feltur* the rest. [5] em. Bugge; *yðar* MSS. [6] om. i, k, l.
[7] u, l; om. i, k. [8] a, i, l, u; *á* k. [9] cf. str. 24. [10] cf. str. 24.
[11] i; *hræsi* a; *hræsu* l; *hro si* u; om. k.
[12] i, l, a; *at hai hvorium* u; om. k.
[13] em. Bugge, *Take* (or *taki*) *þier* MSS. [14] a, i, l, u; *úr* k. [15] *skulu* u.
[16] This strophe as in u; cf. Saxo, p. 191. [17] vc *eru í fylki* i, k, l; *fimtán eru fylki seggja* s. [18] *þúsund* a, i, k, l. [19] *í hv. þ.* a, i, k, l; *þ* om. u.
[20] *þr. hun. manna* a, i, l, u. [21] u; *háls* i; *hálfs* a, k, l.

have often given battle, and gained a glorious victory to their renown.'

Then Gizurr rode away until he came to the host of the Huns. He rode just within earshot, and then called loudly, crying:

25 'Your host is panic-stricken, your leader is doomed; the standards are raised against you; Othin is wroth with you!

26 'I challenge you to battle at Dylgja, and on Dúnheiðr, under the mountains of Jóssurr. May every battlefield be covered with your corpses, and may Othin let the javelin fly according to my words!'

When Hlöðr heard Gizurr's words, he cried:

27 'Lay hold on Gizurr, Angantýr's man, who has come from Árheimar.'

King Humli said:

28 'We must not injure heralds who travel unattended.'

...Then Gizurr struck spurs into his horse and rode back to King Angantýr and went up to him and saluted him. The King asked him if he had parleyed with the Huns.

Gizurr replied:

'I spoke with them and I challenged them to meet us on the battlefield of Dúnheiðr and in the valleys of Dylgja.'

Angantýr asked how big the army of the Huns was. Gizurr replied: 'Great is their host.

29 There are in all six "legions" of warriors, and in every "legion" five "thousands," in every "thousand" thirteen "hundreds," and in every "hundred" a quadruple number of men.'

Next day they began the battle; and they fought together the whole day, and at evening they went to

svá átta daga....Þar fell Hlöðr ok Humli konungr, ok þá tóku Húnar at flýja....Angantýr gekk þá at kanna valinn ok fann Hlöð bróður sinn. Þá kvað hann:

30 'Bauð ek þér, bróðir, basmir[1] óskerðar[2],
fé ok fjölð meiðma[3], sem *þik*[4] fremst tíddi[5];
nú hefir þú hvárki hildar at gjöldum,
ljósa bauga, né land ekki.

31 'Bölvat es okkr, bróðir; bani em ek þinn orðinn;
þat mun æ uppi; illr er dómr Norna.'

Angantýr vas lengi konungr í Reiðgotalandi; hann vas ríkr ok örr ok hermaðr mikill, ok eru frá honum komnar konunga ættir.

[1] So Verelius; *basnir* u; *brynjur* s; om. i, k, l.
[2] *óskertar* (for *óskerðar*) u; *ósker tvær* a, i, k, l.
[3] *meidma* s; *meidna* a, i, k, l, u.
[4] em. Bugge; *mik* a, i, l, u; *þú* k.
[5] i, u; *tíði* a, l; *tíðir* s; *girntist* k.

their quarters. They continued fighting for eight days.... There fell Hlöðr and King Humli, and then the Huns took to flight....Angantýr then went to search among the slain, and found his brother Hloðr. Then he cried:

30 'I offered thee unstinted wealth, my brother, riches and vast treasure to the limit of thy desires; but now thou hast won by thy warfare neither shining rings nor territory.

31 'A curse has been laid upon us, my brother; I have brought about thy death. This will never be forgotten.—Evil is the decree of the Norns.'

Angantýr ruled Reiðgotaland as king for a long time. He was powerful and munificent and a great warrior, and lines of kings are sprung from him.

NOTES

I. THE WANDERER

1. *Are gebideð*. A possible alternative translation would be, 'The solitary man always lives to experience mercy,' etc. So Grein, Thorpe, etc. But it is difficult to reconcile this translation of *gebideð* with l. 5.

4. *Hrimcealde*, a ἅπ. λεγ., lit., probably 'cold as rime,' but possibly 'made cold by rime,' i.e. frost. The word occurs three times in Norse poetry, where it is applied to supernatural beings. Cf. *Vafþrúþnismál*, str. 21; *Fáfnismál*, str. 38; *Lokasenna*, str. 49, 50.

5. *Wyrd bið ful aræd*. *Aræd* is perhaps adj.; but the word is very rare, and the evidence as to its meaning somewhat doubtful: see B. and T., Suppl. *s.v.* For the sense, cf. *Beowulf*, l. 455; *Grípesspá*, str. 52: *Munat sköpum vinna*.

6. *Swa* probably refers to what follows rather than to what has gone before.

7. *Winemæga hryre*, perhaps lit. 'Through the fall of his dear kinsmen.' As the text stands, *hryre* can hardly be taken otherwise than as a loose causal or comitative instrumental. For other explanations, cf. Kock, *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918, p. 78; Jacobsen, *The Wanderer* (Rostock, 1901), p. 82; Wyatt, *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Cambridge, 1919), p. 263.

13. *Þæt he*, etc., lit. 'that he fasten securely the closet of his thoughts and keep his treasure chamber.' Thorpe placed a period after *hordcofan* and continues: *Hycge swa he wille, ne mæg*, etc.

17. *Domgeorne*. Cf. *Hávamál*, str. 77. The same idea is frequently expressed in *Beowulf*.
dreorigne, *sc. hyge*, lit. 'When it is depressed,' etc. Cf. *Fragment of a Monitory Poem* (Grein-Wülcker, *Bibliothek*, II, 2, p. 280), l. 2:

Þinne dom arær;
heald hordlocan, hyge fæste bind, etc.

It is not clear whether reserve or caution is intended. Cf. however the word *durre*, l. 10. The same doubt arises in *Hávamál*, str. 15:

Þagalt ok hugalt skyli þjóþans barn
ok vígdjarft vesa.

It is much easier to find parallels for injunctions to caution than to reserve, e.g. *Fæder Larcwidas*, ll. 57, 58. Cf. also the instructions to the councillor in Budge, *The Literature of the Egyptians* (London, 1914), p. 227 f.: 'If thou art a wise man, and if thou hast a seat in the council-chamber of thy lord...keep silence, for this is better than to talk overmuch....Think much, but keep thy mouth closed: if thou dost not, how canst thou consult with the nobles?'

22. *Goldwine minne*. If the MS. reading were kept, *goldwine mine* would be best taken as poet. pl. for sing., which is extremely common in A.S. and Norse poetry. The emendation to *minne* however (Thorpe) is very slight. For this passage and what follows cf. *Guþlac*, l. 1325 ff.

23. *Hrusan heolster biwrah*. So edd. An emendation seems necessary. If *heolstre* is kept either *hruse* must be read for *hrusan* or *ic* added. Cf. *Blick. Hom.* (ed. R. Morris, E.E.T.S. 1880), VII, p. 95: 'Þeah þe

hie ær eorþe bewrigen hæfde'; Wulfstan (ed. A. Napier, Berlin, 1883), p. 183: 'Swa hwæt manncynnes swa eorðe ær forswealh.'

24. *Wintercearig.*
('Sad from age') is
meaning is quite doubtful

Cf. also B. and T., Suppl. *s.v.*

member of the court) and (therefore) felt no regard for it.

29
l. 1821.
is the
latter, 'entice me with good cheer.' Cf. B. and T. *s.v.*

31. *Lyt...leofra geholena.* For *lyt* with a personal genitive cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 2150, 2836, *Be Manna Wyrdum*, l. 30 f.

32. *Warað hine*, lit. '(The thought of) his exile possesses him.' Cf. *Heliand*, l. 1003.

34. *Selesecgas*; so Thorpe, Ettmuller, Grein[2], Sweet, Sieper, Schucking, Imelmann Several editors, however (e.g. Rieger, Wülcker), read *sele, secgas. Sele-secg* does not occur elsewhere. Similar compounds, e.g. *seld-guma, sele-þegn*, are found however

35. *His goldwine*, etc. For this conception of the function of a lord cf. *Be Manna Wyrdum*, l. 27 f. Cf. also *The Wonders of Creation*, l. 91 ff

37. *Wat se þe sceal*, etc. *Wat* is repeated from l. 29; the object is to be inferred from the preceding passage.

41. *Þinceð him on mode*, etc. Is *þynceð...breac* introduced as a parenthesis? I have translated it as the main sentence, because l. 45 appears to contain an anacoluthon, i.e. the sentence *þonne onwæcneð*, etc. is not a true correlative to l. 39 ff

44. *Giefstolas*, prob. gen. sing.; the ending *-as* for *-es* is not unknown in late MSS. Possibly however acc. pl. (poet. pl. for sing.), since *brucan* is occasionally followed by the acc. Sweet and others emend to *-es*.

45. *Wineleas guma*. The word *wineleas* perhaps suggests a closer connection with the preceding lines than can be conveyed in a modern translation, for *wine* is especially used for a man's lord.

46. *Wegas*, for W.S. *wægas*(ǣ). The form perhaps comes from an earlier text written before the W.S. type of language had come into general literary use. Cf. l. 64 n.

47. *Brædan feþra*, or perhaps 'preening their feathers.'

50. *Sare* may be causal instrumental of the substv. or nom. pl. of the adj. agreeing with *benne*. The latter is the more usual construction. Gr. Köh. take it as an adverb.

51. *Geondhweorfeð*. The prefix *geond-* here and throughout the poem appears to be used in a somewhat unusual sense to mark the exhaustive nature of the verb; cf. *geondsceaweð*, l. 52; *geondþence*, l. 60. Cf. also l. 58 n.

52. *Gliwstafum*, a ἅπ. λεγ., the meaning of which is very uncertain. B. and T., Sweet, Schücking, Imelmann, transl. 'joyfully,' Gr. Köh. *signum lætitiae*. Thorpe transl. 'with song,' Gollancz 'with snatches of song.' (Cf. *cwidegiedda*, l. 55 below.) The word *gleo* is generally used in the sense of 'music.' In the Epinal Gloss. 398 *gliu* glosses *facetiae* and in *ib.* 550 *in gliuuae* glosses *in mimo*. The word does not occur in the other Teutonic languages except in Norse, where it is rare. Cf. *Hamðismál*, str. 7.

53. *Secga geseldan*, lit. 'the companions of warriors.' The phrase does not occur elsewhere, but seems to be analogous to *ylda* (*fira*) *bearn*(*um*), *Beowulf* pass., lit. 'children of men,' i.e. men; *Denigea leode*, *Beo.* l. 696, *Sceotta leoda*, 'Men of the Scots,' *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 11. We may cf. *under swegles begong* (*Beo.* l. 860) beside *under swegle* (*Beo.* l. 1078) with the same meaning. These expressions may be regarded as compounds in sense, just as much as *þeodnes dohtor* (*Husband's Message*, l. 25), but unlike the latter, they are compounds in which the meaning of the whole differs but little from that of the word which occurs in the genitive.

54. *Fleotendra ferð*, poetic sing. for pl.

58. *Geond þas woruld*. Cf. l. 51 n. The literal meaning appears to be 'I cannot think (however extensively I search) throughout this world (of any reason) why my heart,' etc.; and the entire phrase comes simply to denote the exhaustive nature of the action expressed by the verb. Cf. *Christ and Satan*, ll. 278, 9:

> Uton, la, geþencan geond þas worulde
> þæt we hælende heran onginnen.

Cf. also *Deor's Lament*, l. 31.

61. *Hu hi...maguþegnas*, lit. 'How they, proud young squires, have abandoned their halls.'

64. *For þon ne mæg*, etc. Cf. *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), ll. 11, 12. *Wearþan*, for W.S. *weorþan*. *ea* for *eo* is very common in Northumbrian texts, and not infrequent in Kentish. Cf. l. 46 n.

66. *Ne sceal no*, etc. Cf. *Be Manna Wyrdum*, ll. 48—50. For a similar

category cf. Wulfstan's Sermons (ed. A. Napier, Berlin, 1883), p. 40, 'Ne beon ge,' etc. Cf. also *ib.* p. 253, 'Ne syn we,' etc.

70. *Beorn* seems to be equivalent to *eorl*, i.e. a man of the upper or military (*kshatriya*) class. It is often tempting to translate both these poetical words by 'man,' but this is due to the fact that the typical man whom the poems have in view is of this class.

73. *Hu gæstlic*, etc. To the best of my knowledge there is no real
T. (cf. Suppl. *s.v.*) refer
Or can the sentence
þisse worulde? For the construction cf. the *Dialogue of the Soul and Body*, l. 3:

77. *Hryðge*, a ἅπ. λεγ. B. and T. suggest either 'dismantled' (cf. Norse *hryðða*, 'strip,' 'dismantle') or 'tottering' (cf. A.S. *hriðian*—which however seems properly to mean 'be feverish'). Gr.-Köh. suggest 'beschneit' (cf. *hrið*, l. 102); Kock (*Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918, 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 78) 'exposed to (snow) storms.'

80. *Sume wig fornom*, etc. We may perhaps cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1113. In the following lines *sum* is used to introduce items in a category. The *sum* motif is a very common one in A.S. gnomic poetry, e.g. *Crist*, l. 664 ff.; cf. also *De Manna Wyrdum* and *De Manna Cræftum*, l. 53. Similar lists of various forms of death to that in the *Wanderer* are not uncommon, e.g. *Blick. Hom.* ed R. Morris (E.E.T.S. 1880), p. 95. Cf. also Wulfstan (*ed. cit.*), p 183. Klaeber believes that these categories are of Latin derivation (cf. *Archiv f. d. St. der neueren Sprachen*, no. 126, p. 359) and compares Vergil, *Æneid* x, l. 557 ff. Cf. Aldhelm, *Carmen de resurrectione mortuorum*, v. 12 ff The wolf and the raven or eagle, however, are commonplaces of A.S poetry. Cf. *Brunanburh*, l. 60 f. and note p 181 below.

ated above
, oþþe fuglas
in a vulture,

83. *Deaðe gedælde*. Sweet suggests an emendation to *deadne gedælde*, but this is unnecessary. Cf *Andreas*, l. 955

His þin feorh ne magon deaðe gedælan,

and l. 1215 ff.

Ne magon hie þinne lichoman.. deaþe gedælan.

85. *Eardgeard*. The word occurs elsewhere only in *Crist*, l. 55, where it refers to Jerusalem.

Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1679, etc.

which is drawn of the life of its former occupants is that of an English prince's court. For this we have a parallel in the *Ruin*, which likewise appears to deal with the remains of a Roman building.

91. *Þas word acwið*. The variation in the use of the tenses in this poem is perhaps worth noting. The action is really timeless, but the past tense is sometimes used (e.g. ll. 6 and 111) in reference to the cases cited.

92. *Hwær cwom*, etc. It is held by several scholars (e.g. Bright, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 8, p. 187 f.; Klaeber, *Journal of Engl. and Gmc. Phil.* XII, p. 259; cf. also B. C. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, New York, 1914, p. 45; etc.) that these rhetorical formulae are of Latin derivation (*Ubi sunt, etc.*). A number of parallels can be found in homiletic writings, e.g. Wulfstan (ed. Napier), p. 263: 'Hwær syndon nu þa rican caseras 7 þa cyningas þe jo wæron, oððe þa ealdormen þe beboda setton? Hwær is demera domstow?...Hwær com middaneardes gestreon? Hwær com woruldе wela,' etc. Cf. also *Blick. Hom.* (ed. Morris), p. 99, and the unpublished sermon contained in *Tib.* A. III, fol. 102 a, an extract from which is given by Kluge in *Engl. Stud.* VIII, p. 472 f. Such passages are no doubt derived in part from L. originals. He compares Bede, *Lib. Scint.*: 'Dic ubi sunt reges, ubi principes, ubi imperatores, ubi locupletes rerum, ubi potentes sæculi? Certe quasi umbra transierunt; velut somnium evanuerunt,' which is thus rendered in the A.S. translation: 'Sege hwar synd cyningas, hwar ealdras, hwar wealdendras, hwar welige þinga, hwar mihtige worulde gewislice? swylce sceadu gewitan, swylce swefen fordwinan' (Cod. Reg. 7, C. IV, fol. 92). On the other hand it is to be observed that the formula *hwær cwom* is not of L. origin, and further that rhetorical questions in general do not appear to have been unusual in the early Teutonic languages. They are of fairly frequent occurrence in Norse poetry, both in long poems and in *lausavisur*; e.g. *Egils S.* ch. 61; *Eiríksmál*, str. 1; *Vellekla*, str. 24. Again the question 'where are?' with reference to the departed is of such a character that it could very easily come into use independently in different countries; and in point of fact it is of frequent occurrence in the early poetic literature of several languages, e.g. Greek (cf. *Iliad*, XIII, l. 219 f.), Hebrew (Isaiah XXXVI, 13) and Sanskrit (cf. *Rig Veda*, Book VII, Hymn 88, v. 5), which cannot be suspected of L. influence. Cf. further C. Becker, 'Ubi sunt qui ante nos in mundo fuere' in *Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte, vornehmlich des Orients, Ernst Kuhn zum 70 Geburtstage gewidmet*, Münich, 1916. The case as regards the *Wanderer* must therefore be regarded as at least doubtful. The only point in favour of the L. derivation is that this formula is unusual in A.S. poetry. On the other hand the whole tenor of the passage from l. 92—105 is as alien as it could well be from the homiletic passages cited above.

93. *Hwær...gesetu*. The sing. verb with the pl. subject is no doubt due to attraction to the preceding phrases. Cf. *Blick. Hom. ed. cit.* p. 99. The construction however is not unknown. Cf. Mätzner, *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache* (Weimar, 1863), p. 51 (3).

97. *Stondeð nu on laste...weal*, lit. 'There stands in the track of...a wall.' For this use of *last* cf. the phrase *last weardian*, *Beo.* l. 971, etc., and see B. and T. *s.v. last*. It is quite in accordance with A.S. idiom to omit the word 'only' before 'wall.'

98. *Wyrmlicum fah*, obscure. B. and T. transl. *wyrmlic*—'the body of a serpent (of carving on a wall)'; Gr. Köh. *serpentis corpus*. So far

as I am aware the word only occurs once elsewhere in a Confession published in *Anglia*, XII, p. 501, by Logeman, where it seems to be used in quite a different sense. The serpent was a familiar design in

wurma, *wyrma* as in *wyrmbasu*, 'coccus' (equivalent to *weoloc-read*)? We may possibly compare the expression *readfah* in the *Ruin*, l. 10, though the use of *teafor*, *ib.* l. 23, points to a different origin for the colouring mentioned there.

102. *Hrusan bindeð*, etc. I have adopted the emendation *hruse* to *hrusan* which was suggested by Thorpe and adopted by Ettmüller and most later editors, and take *woma* as standing in loose apposition to *hrið*, since the former by itself can hardly be the subject of *bindeð*. The sentence *þonne...nihtscua* is best rendered as a parenthesis.

with trouble.'

107. *Wyrda gesceaft.* The phrase occurs again in *Daniel*, l. 132. The origin of this and similar expressions is doubtless to be found in a mythological conception, similar to that which forms the subject of the *Darraðarljóð*; cf. the *Rhyming Poem*, l. 70. *me þat Wyrd gewæf.*

108. *Her bið feoh læne*, etc. The resemblance to *Hávamál*, str. 76 f., was pointed out by R. M. Meyer in *Die altgermanische Poesie* (Berlin, 1889), p. 321 f.; cf. also *Hákonarmál*, str. 21

110. *Gesteal* apparently occurs only here It is generally interpreted to mean 'frame.' It is possible however that the word may mean 'habitations together with their occupants,' in which case the sense would be 'The present generation with all its belongings will pass away.'

111. *Gesæt him*, etc. Cf. *Heliand*, l. 3227; *Andreas*, l. 1161.

what follows If this latter interpretation is correct, *torn* is probably to be translated 'anger' rather than 'grief'

II. THE SEAFARER

1. *Mæg ic*, etc.
Complaint, l. 1 and
seems to have little
compare its use in t...
ployed to render the Latin fut. or conj See B. and T. *s.v.* magan v.

6. *Atol yþa gewealc.* Cf. *Exodus*, l. 455, *Beowulf*, l. 848. The phrase stands in loose apposition to *cearselda fela*. 'I have experienced

many anxious situations, (I have experienced) the terrible rolling of the waves.'

þær is probably relative, 'when'; but the idiom can hardly be reproduced in Modern English.

8. *Cnossað*, so MS. Early editors, e.g. Ettmüller, Grein, Rieger, etc. read *cnossade*. So also Wülcker and Imelmann. For the use of the indic. pres. in dependent sentences relating to the past a possible parallel is to be found in *Beowulf*, l. 1923. For the use of the conj. pres. instances occur in *Beowulf*, ll. 1314, 1928, 2495.

9. *Mine fet.* Kluge em. *fet* to *fotas*. So also Schücking. Sweet and Sieper transpose *mine* and *fet* for metrical reasons.

10. *Ceare seofedun...heortan.* Cf. *Genesis*, l. 354 f. An antithesis is doubtless intended between *caldum* and *hat*; but the strained metaphor can hardly be reproduced in a translation. Sweet emends *hat* to *hate*. If the MS. reading is kept the lit. translation will be 'distress moaned, heat (subst.) round my heart'; or poss. 'distress moaned hotly (acc. nt. adj. as adv.) round my heart.' (So Imelmann.) Cf. *bitter*, l. 55.

13. *Þe...limpeð*, etc. Or possibly 'who has the happiest of lots (life) on land.' Imelmann translates 'zum besten gedeiht.' The superlative however is perhaps not to be pressed.

14. *Earmcearig*, or perhaps 'made anxious by my desolation.' Sweet translates 'careworn.'

16. *Winemægum bidroren.* Half a line has presumably been lost after *lastum*. The line is metrically defective as it stands. There is no indication of a lacuna in the MS.

18. *Þær ic ne gehyrde*, etc. Previous editors have punctuated this sentence differently, marking the stop after *song* instead of after *wæg*; 'There I...waves and the recurring note of the swan. For amusement I had the call of the gannet, and the scream of the godwit in place of human merriment.'

20. *Gomene...hleahtor wera...medodrince.* It is to be noted that his mind has recurred, like that of the Wanderer (cf. ll. 32—55), to feasts in the hall, where these three elements are invariably to be found. Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 607—630, etc.

21. *Huilpan.* If the text is correct the metre would rather favour *hwilpan* as against *hu-ilpan*. Sieper omits *and*; but *u* for *w* is not uncommon in early texts and was regularly used in early Northumbrian. Ref. may be made to the note on this word by M. Daunt in the *Mod. Lang. Rev.* Vol. XIII, 1918, pp. 478, 479. I came independently to the conclusion that the bird is the bar-tailed godwit, commonly called *yarwhelp* and *half-whawp*. Shakespeare calls it *scammel*. The godwit is a water-bird and is also called 'sea-woodcock.' It may be an objection that the godwit is a migratory bird and does not stay in this country in the winter. But this objection applies also, curiously enough, to the gannet and the tern.

25. *Urigfeþra.* This line cannot be correct, as alliteration is wanting. Wülcker, following Thorpe, holds that something has been lost from the text. Grein prints *ne ænig* for *nænig*. Kluge suggests *heaswigfeþra* for *urigfeþra*; but the latter occurs elsewhere, viz. in *Judith*, l. 210; *Elene*, ll. 29, 111—in ea[illegible] as an epithet of the eagle

the p.p. cf. Wulfstan's *Sermo ad Anglos* (Sweet's *Reader*, p. 91, l. 56). Owing to the rarity of this construction some editors (e.g. Sweet, Schücking) em. to *gebideð*. The transl. would then be: 'He who has a happy life and experiences no perilous adventures,' etc.

23. *In burgum*, possibly poet. pl. for sing., as elsewhere, e.g. *Genesis*, l. 2502. Ettmüller, Schücking, etc. omit the comma before *bealosiða*.

From Alfred's Laws, cap. 40, it appears that the term *burh* (perhaps properly 'stockade') was applied to the residences of men of all ranks above that of the peasant.

31. *Nap nihtscua*, etc. With this passage cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 102 ff.

33. *For þon*. Cf. Introduction, p. 17 f., above.

37. *Ferð to feran*. Grein (according to Wülcker), emends *ferð* to *forð* which seems more natural. In this case we must supply 'me.'

42. *His sæfore sorge*, lit. 'anxiety with regard to his sea-voyaging, as to what God,' etc. *sæfore* is causal gen. after *sorge*.

69, 7.

44. *Ne biþ him*, etc. Cf. l. 20 and n.

45. *To wife wyn*, or possibly 'he has no pleasure in his wife.' *To woruldе hyht*, or possibly 'no hope in this world.' Cf. *Crist*, l. 585 f.; *Guðlac*, l. 631 f.

46. *Ymbe...elles* The subject is probably *hyge*, l. 45 being parenthetical.

48. *Blostmum nimað*. The text can hardly be correct, since *niman*

ed. H. L. Hargrove (New York, 1902), p. 1.

50. *Ealle þa*, etc. The lit. transl. would seem to be 'Incite the man eager of heart, (incite) to travel the heart of one who has such inclinations.'

51. *Sefan*, so modern editors (e.g. Wülcker, Sieper, Schücking, Imelmann). Early editors emended to *feran* and (Grein² and Rieger) *þone* (for *þam*)

52. *Gewitaþ*. The use of the pl. here is curious, and most editors (e.g. Ettmüller, Rieger, Grein, Wülcker, Sweet, Sieper, Schücking, etc.) emend to *gewitan*.

53. *Geac...geomran reorde*. Cf. the *Husband's Message*, D, l. 10 f. and n. The cuckoo figures largely as a herald of Spring in Irish poetry also. Cf. the 'Song of Summer' in *Ancient Irish Poetry*, transl. K. Meyer

(London, 1913), p. 54. Cf. also Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Oxford, 1908), p. 223, n. to l. 53.

55. *Bitter.* Rieger emends to *bitre.* So also Sweet, but cf. *hat*, l. 11 and note to l. 10.

beorn. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 70 n.

56. *Esteadig.* So Wülcker, Sweet, Imelmann, etc. The word is apparently a ἄπ. λεγ. (lit. 'blest with luxuries'). Grein read the MS. as *eft-* (as previously suggested by Thorpe), and emended to *sefteadig*, in which he has been followed by Rieger, Kluge, Schücking and the dictionaries ('in easy circumstances,' B. and T.); but *seft-* does not appear to occur elsewhere in compounds. Sieper reads *eft-eadig*, but translates 'glückselig.'

61. *Eorþan sceatas.* I take *sceatas* to be gen. sing. (cf. Sievers, *Angelsächs. Gram.*, § 237, Anm. 1), possibly, as elsewhere, for an earlier *-æs* dependent upon *wide. Ofer* is added by Ettmüller and Wülcker, *geond* by Grein and Rieger.

62. *Gifre and grædig* is a formula which occurs elsewhere. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 793; *Dialogue of the Body and Soul*, l. 74.

anfloga. Sieper takes *anfloga* as applying to the cuckoo. Ettmüller and Gr. Köh. transl. *draco*; but surely it merely carries on the metaphor which describes the speaker's imagination as a (solitary) seabird. Cf. Psalms XI, 1; CXXIV, 7.

65. *Deade lif.* This figurative use of the adj. is rare. Cf. however *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter MS.), l. 79; cf. also B. and T. (Suppl.) *s.v. dead* I.

68. *Simle þreora sum*, etc. For the asyndetic form of this sentence, cf. the *Laws of Wihtred*, cap. 26. The phrase is not uncommon. Cf. *þreora an* in *Be Griðe*, ch. 16.

69. *Ær his tiddege.* I take *ær* as prep., and the MS. *tidege* to be for *tiddæge*, with Gr. Köh. etc. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 1165. Rieger, Wülcker, Sweet, etc. emend to *ær his tid aga.*

71. *Fægum fromweardum*, lit. 'Doomed (and) about to depart.'

72. There are various possible ways of taking this passage.

(1) *Lof* (*lifgendra æftercweþendra*) subj.; *lastworda betst* pred., 'The praise of those who survive...is the best of reputations.' In this case the clause *þæt he gewyrce* is explanatory to *lof*, though somewhat anacoluthic. *Fremman* is governed by *gewyrce*, '? That he succeed by his labours...in prevailing'—an unusual construction. The chief difficulty in the way of this interpretation is the first *þæt* (in l. 72) which comes before the subject.

(2) *Lof* (*lifgendra æftercweþendra*) is acc. obj. of *gewyrce.* The subj. of the sentence is *þæt* in l. 72 taken up as usual by *þæt* in l. 74. 'It is the best of reputations...that he should gain the praise,' etc. The difficulty here is that the object of *gewyrce* (*lof*) comes before the predicate of the main sentence; and further that we shall have an awkward anacoluthon in *fremman*, l. 75, which in that case can only be taken as loosely complementary to the sentence *þæt he gewyrce*, etc.

In either case *biþ* must be understood in the main sentence, but B. and T. and Gr. Köh. give no examples of the use of *gewyrcean* with the infin. The latter (following Rieger) regard *fremman* as acc. sing. of a fem. noun *fremme* (Rieger *freme*) governed by *gewyrce.* The form, however, does not occur elsewhere. Sweet in his *Reader* (Oxford, 1908, p. 173, l. 75) emends to *freme* (n. sing.) but omits the reference in his glossary. K. Sisam (*Engl. St.* Bd. 46, 1912–1913, p. 336) emends

to *fremum* (d. pl. of *fremu*) making ll. 75 and 76 parallel, transl. 'that...he bring it about by beneficial actions upon the earth against the malice of fiends, by doughty deeds against the devil, that the sons of men afterwards praise him,' and compares *Beowulf*, l. 20 ff. Kock ('Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings,' p. 76 *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918) emends to *fremme* (vb.), and translates: 'that he...achieves and brings about on earth...that sons of men extol him afterwards.'

75. *Fremman on foldan*, etc. Cf. *De Manna Cræftum*, ll. 89, 90.

79. *Blæd* seems to be in loose syntactical apposition with what goes before.

80. *Dagas sind gewitene*, etc., lit. 'The days, all the splendour,' etc.

82. *Ne aron nu*, etc. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 92 n.

84. *Mæst mid him.* The force of *mid him* (which perhaps applies strictly to the following line also) seems to be 'More than any others of their kind' (i.e. kings etc.).

91. *Yldo him*, etc. Cf. the picture of old age in Budge, *The Literature of the Egyptians* (London, 1914), p. 225.

92. *Iuwine...eorþan forgiefene.* Some editors emend to *-giefenne* (sing.). On the other hand it may be an instance of the frequent poet. pl. for sing. Cf. *Guðlac*, l. 1326

98. *Broþor his geborenum. Broþor* is nom., lit. 'though he (as) a brother for his born (brother).' Ettmuller reads *gebroðrum* for *geborenum*; but cf. Laws of Alfred, ch. 42 (6). Rieger, Wulcker, etc. read

[illegible]

that everyone should bring to Valholl such treasure as he had on his pyre, and should also have for his enjoyment whatever he had buried in the ground.

99. *Maþmum mislicum.* I take this to be a loose instr. use, lit. 'by means of various (or 'in the form of various') treasures.' Cf. *Beow* l. 2181.

100. *Ne mæg*, etc., lit. 'Gold will not be able,...when he has hidden it,' etc.

101. *For godes egsan.* Cf. *Andreas*, l. 457; *Crist*, l. 1015.

103. *Oncyrreð* Cf. the *Wanderer*, l 107; *Rhyming Poem*, l. 59

106. *Dol biþ*, etc. Cf *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter MS.), l. 35 Cf. also *Salomon and Saturn*, l. 224; the *Wanderer*, l 112

Unþinged, nom, lit. 'When it (death) is unprepared for.'

109. *Mon sceal*, etc. For *mon*, the MS. has *mod.* So also Schucking. The emendation (which has been adopted by almost all editors) is suggested by the *Gnomic Verses* (Exeter MS.), l 51.

[illegible]

life.'

112. *Wiþ leofne*, etc. The line is defective as it stands. I have followed Klaeber in supplying *lufan* after *leofne*—which seems to be required by both the sense and the metre.

113. *Fyres* is obviously wrong, if the present order of words is correct. A word with initial *w-* is required. Does *fulne* stand for *fūl(l)ne* or for *fūlne*? For the latter ('guilty') we may refer to the frequent references to ordeal in the Laws.

115. *Geworhtne.* The MS. reading—*geworhtne*—can hardly be correct. A possible emend. would be *gewrehtne.* The meaning would then be lit. 'Wish a friend of his (or possibly 'his lord') who has been accused to be burnt on the pyre.' It is presumably not to the funeral pyre of heathen times that reference is made here but to the punishment of enemies or criminals by burning. Cf. *Be Manna Wyrdum*, l. 43 f.; Aethelstan's Laws IV, 6, § 7, where the reference is to the punishment of slaves.

swiðre. The MS. reading *swire* is obviously wrong. The emendation to *swiðre* is confirmed by the *Ruin*, l. 17; *Salomon and Saturn*, l. 442; *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), l. 5.

117. *Uton we*, etc. Cf. Introduction, p. 18 above. Cf. for the form of the concluding lines *Crist*, ll. 771—8; *Homily on Psalm* 28, ll. 43—47.

121. *Gelong.* The sense seems to require that *gelong* should be taken with *in* rather than with *þær.*

123, 4. *Geweorþade...in ealle tid.* Or does this rather mean 'Who has counted us worthy of eternal salvation'? B. and T. however do not recognise this use of *geweorþian.*

III. THE WIFE'S COMPLAINT

1. *Giedd wrece*, a technical phrase. Cf. the *Wonders of Creation*, l. 12; *Beowulf*, l. 1065, etc. Cf. also the *Seafarer*, ll. 1, 2, and *Beowulf*, l. 872 f. where *sið* and *wrecan* are similarly brought together.

2. *Minre sylfre sið.* The fem. form of the pron. etc. shows that the poem refers to a woman. Cf. Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras*, 1850, p. 214; cf. also Introduction, p. 28, above. *Sið* seems to be in loose apposition to *giedd.* The lax syntax in the first two lines is characteristic of the whole poem. Cf. l. 45 f. For the construction cf. B. and T. *s.v. self*, II (3).

5. *Wite*, etc. The same expression occurs, though with a different construction of the gen., in *Genesis*, l. 1013 f.; cf. *Guðlac*, l. 440.

6—15. The sequence of events is not quite clear to me; but the obscurity may be not altogether unintentional.

7. *Uhtceare.* Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 8; Prayer IV, l. 95.

9. *Folgað.* This meaning is unusual in A.S.; but cf. Bede, *H.E.* v, 11: 'Willfrið wæs on þa tid of his eðle adrifen and in Mercna land folgade (In Merciorum regionibus exulabat).' Cf. also the use of *folgere (pedisequa)*, Toller, Suppl. *s.v. ad fin.* The poem contains many ἅπ. λεγ. and unusual constructions. Cf. Schücking, *Zeitschr. für deut. Alterthum*, Vol. XLVIII (1906), p. 448 f.

11. *Ongunnon*, etc. It is not clear whether the poet intends this as a statement of fact or merely as a surmise on the part of the heroine. All editors seem to take the former view, and the latter certainly seems to postulate a somewhat complex situation which we should perhaps hardly be justified in attributing to a poet of the period. Yet the poem is more subtle than any other Anglo-Saxon poem which has come down to us.

to fit the context here, and it was not usual for a wife to be involved in a vendetta incurred by her husband. I have therefore preferred to take *fæhðu* in the more general sense of 'hostility,' which is not uncommon in the case of *fah*, and which gives additional point to the words *mines fela leofan*.

27. *Heht mec*, etc. The nearest parallel that I know is in the text of the *Helreið Brynhildar* contained in the *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 356:

Lét mig af harmi hugfullr konungr
Atla systur undir æik búa.

('In sorrow the courageous king made me, the sister of Atli, to dwell beneath an oak.')

There is nothing in the context or elsewhere to explain this passage, and all editors, I think, adopt the reading of the *Codex Regius* which (as in several other places in the poem) gives quite a different sense from the *Flateyjarbók*:

Lét hami vára hugfullr konungr
átta systra und eik borit.

('The courageous king had my (swan) garb and those of my eight sisters carried beneath an oak.') The readings of the *Flateyjarbók* however are not mere scribal errors. In sagas we hear occasionally of sanctuaries serving as *griðastaðir*, i.e. places where fugitives could seek refuge (as in churches in later times). Thus in *Friðþjófs Saga*, ch. 2, Ingibjörg is placed in the sanctuary of *Baldrshagi* by her brothers when they go out freebooting; and the sanctuary of Freyr seems to serve a similar purpose in the story of Gunnarr Helming, *Flateyjarbók*, I, p. 337 (cf. also *Eyrbyggja Saga*, ch. 4). These sanctuaries very frequently contained—and indeed perhaps originally consisted of—sacred trees or groves. In England we hear of places of sanctuary or asylum (*friðgeard*) round trees in the North. Priests' Law, §35. Parallels are not uncommon among other peoples. We may refer especially to the sacred groves of the Lithuanians in which no injury might be offered to man or beast. It is not unlikely therefore that this is what is meant both in l. 27 ff. above and in the *Flat.* text of the *Helreið*. Our passage could also be interpreted as pointing to a prison; but I do not know any parallels to the use of such a place in this way.

29. *Eorðsele*, cf. *eorðscræfe*, ll. 28, (-*u*) 36. The meaning is not made clear. The latter word occurs in the *Wanderer*, l. 84, apparently in the sense of 'grave.' Here it would seem to mean a cave, natural or artificial. One is tempted to think of the 'earth-houses' found in Scotland and elsewhere, but the total absence of such structures in Saxon England raises a difficulty. Chambered long barrows may be thought of, but these are confined to a limited district (Wilts, Somerset, Glouces.) and l. 35 rather suggests a larger space. The pl. *eorðscrafu* in l. 36 may point rather to a succession of chambers such as might be found in 'dene-holes' or in natural caves.

30. *Dena* and *duna* form a frequent antithesis in poetry. Cf. Riddle 28, ll. 1, 2, etc. Can *dun* here possibly refer to the steep sides of the cavern? The meaning may however be 'This is a gloomy dell surrounded by lofty hills.'

31. *Bitre burgtunas*; cf. Grein's translation which takes the phrase in a figurative sense. It might possibly mean however 'Prickly is the enclosing fence.' The original meaning of *tun* was 'a hedge,' cf. Fris.

tun, 'a hedge,' also Ger. *Zaun*. The expression however may possibly be used ironically.

33. *Frynd sind on eorþan*, etc., or perhaps 'above ground.' Thorpe 'My friends are in the earth; the once dear living ones the grave inhabit': so also Conybeare.

pointless.

37. *Sumorlangne dæg*, cf. *Juliana*, l. 495; *Metres of Boethius*, 4[10]. Lit. 'when the days are long as in summer.' B. and T. cf. 'livelong,' cf. also *morgenlongne dæg*, *Beowulf*, l. 2894. Schucking translates 'All the summer long.' But cf. Norse *várlangr*, also used with *dagr*, denoting the length of the spring day. Cf. also O.S. *sumarlanges dages*, *Heliand*, l. 3421. Imelmann believes that a contrast to *uhtan* is intended.

(2) heard (scyle wesan) heortan geþoht. *Breostceare*, etc. may be

most satisfactory.

geong mon. It is a much debated question whether this phrase is to be taken as general or particular. Cf. Introduction, p. 30 above. Grein, Roeder, Imelmann, Sieper, etc. understand it to refer to the young man who has caused the separation of wife and husband. Schucking thought that it referred to the speaker of the poem who, according to him, was a man; but he has recently changed his view in

sometimes without any appreciable difference of meaning, especially in

43. *Heard heortan geþoht*, etc. Or perhaps 'He must have stern resolutions in his mind—though a gracious demeanour—grief of heart too,' etc.

of the verb of the original clause, or rather converts it from pers. to impers. use, cf. Schücking, *Zeitschr. für deut. Alterthum*, Vol. XLVIII (1906), p. 445 f.

46. *Wide...feorres folclondes.* I take the gen. *feorres folclondes* to be dependent on *wide.*

50. *On dreorsele,* etc. The scene which she has in mind is not quite clear to me. Is it a cave on the coast, to which access can be obtained only by water, or a flooded ruin (cf. *stanhleoþu, Wanderer*, l. 101)?

53. *Of langoþe.* B. and T. and Gr. Köh. suggest emendation of *of* to *on.* In accordance with the general custom of A.S. gnomic utterances, this sentence is expressed in the masc. sing., though the speaker is obviously thinking primarily of her own position.

IV. THE HUSBAND'S MESSAGE

B.

1. *Sæwealle.* Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1924.

2. *Merefaroþe.* Cf. *Andreas*, l. 351, etc. The word is generally understood to mean sea-waves. Cf. B. and T. *s.v.*, also Tupper. Thorpe translates 'ocean's strand.' The compound only occurs here and in *Andreas*, where there is nothing in the text to preclude the meaning sea-shore, and this seems to give better sense in our text. Cf. also *Andreas*, l. 255, and Toller, Suppl. *s.v. faroþ* II. For a discussion of the word and its frequent confusion with *waroþ*, cf. Krapp, 'Notes on the Andreas,' *Modern Philology*, Vol. II, pp. 405, 406.

3. *Fea ænig.* Cf. Psalm 104, v. 11.

9. *Ofer meodu.* The line is metrically defective, nor, as it stands, is it easy to see the exact force of *ofer.* Grein[1] suggested *meodubence*; Grein[2], *meodudrincende.* The former suggestion has been adopted by Tupper in his ed. of the riddle (*The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, Boston, 1910), the latter by Wülcker. There is no sign of omission in the MS.

14. *þingum.* All editors seem to take this as adv. instr., some translating (with Thorpe) 'purposely,' others 'violently.' (Gr. Köh. 'potenter,' 'violenter'?) B. and T. give 'purposely' *s.v. þing* but 'violently' *s.v. geþywan* for this passage. The latter meaning is practically implied in *geþydan.* I cannot find any parallel for the meaning 'purposely,' but it might possibly mean 'to the end that' or 'by such treatment that.' Or is it possible that it may be a true dat., 'subjected me to such treatment that,' etc.?

C.

3. *Frean.* Schücking emends to *fri[g]an* for metrical reasons.

5. *Tirfaste treowe,* etc. Cf. Psalm 100, v. 6, where the phrase is possibly suggested by this passage.

D.

1. *Hwæt* is frequently used by Anglo-Saxon poets to introduce a new division of the subject (here, the actual message). Cf. the *Wonders of Creation*, l. 38.

2. *Sinchroden*, lit. 'treasure-laden.' Thorpe, 'richly adorned one.'

5. *Meoduburgum.* Cf. the *Wanderer,* l. 75.

6. *Eard weardigan.* Gr. 'wohnen.' Cf. *Crist,* l. [illegible]

7. *Fæhþo.* Cf. the *Wife's Complaint,* l. 26 and n.

9. *Lagu drefde,* i.e. 'stir,' 'churn the sea,' a poetical expression common in Anglo-Saxon for travelling by sea. Cf. l. 21, *mereþa merestreamas; Beowulf,* l. 1904; *Wanderer,* l. 4; and, with a somewhat different meaning) *Hrafnsmal,* str. 9.

10. *Siþþan þu gehyrde,* etc., i.e. as soon as spring is come—The ancients usually avoided sailing in winter.

11. *Geomorne gæst.* Cf. the *Seafarer,* l. 53 and n.

16. *Findest.* Thorpe punctuates *findest; þær.*

19. *He me aryde.* Thorpe places a period after *aryde* and translates *þonne,* etc., l. 20, as 'Then may,' etc.

xviii. *Geong.* Ettmuller and others suggest that *ond* is the word which has been lost here. May it not have been an infinitive parallel to *faran*?

25. *Þeodnes dohtor.* I have followed the punctuation of Thorpe. Most editors (e.g. Ettmuller, Wülcker, Sieper, Schücking, etc.) place a comma after *eorlgestreona.*

gif.. beneah.. gecyre appears to be an irregular conditional sentence. Instead of 'if he shall gain thee he will carry out the bond,' it has been turned to 'if he shall gain thee I would choose... to declare an oath that he will keep the bond.' The meaning would then be that besides the guarantee of the old vows the speaker would be prepared to get S R. etc. to give a further guarantee. He would choose them as his oath-helpers. Cf. the *cyre-aþ,* Laws of Aethelstan, cap. n. 2. Cf. also [illegible]

27. *Gecyre.* All editors who accept this reading (e.g. Thorpe, [illegible] Imelmann, etc.) take the word as coming from *gecieran,* though the actual emendation *rr* for *r* which appears to be required is not always printed. The sense however seems to point to *geceosan,* though the use of the pret. conj. in this construction is unusual except in auxiliary verbs, *wære, wolde,* etc. Schipper read *genyre,* Trautmann, Tupper, Sieper, and Schucking read *genyre* for *gehyre* (i.e. with the upper stroke of the *h* effaced), but they do not translate. Cf. *Anglia,* xxxvi, p. 287.

28. D. This letter seems properly to be D, but in the *Ruin,* l. xviii (24), it is obviously used for M, so it may have that value here also.

THE RUIN

1. *Wrætlic,* etc. Cf. *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton), l. 3 *wrætlic weallstana geweorc,* here also used of Roman masonry. *Wealstan,* Gr. Ett. under-stand *weallstan,* and transl. 'corner stone,' presumably on the ground of *Crist,* l. 2—the third place in which the word occurs. Hicketier (*Anglia,* xi, p. 366) understands *weallstan* and translates 'Roman stone.' The quality of Roman building at Bath is such that in the

ruins of the great bath there can be seen half an archway and much of the adjacent wall which, after a fall of over twenty feet, still remains intact.

þæs. With Sieper and Schücking I take *þæs* as a variant of *þes*, though the form according to Sievers, § 338, Anm. 4, occurs only in northern texts. Earlier editors took it to be gen. sing., but this involves an unusual construction. The poem contains rather more dialectal forms than is usual, e.g. *ældo*, *-eotone*, *waldend*, *forweorone*, *geleorone*, *cnea*, and perhaps *sylfor*, besides the common poetic *hafað*, *waldend*.

2. *Enta geweorc.* The same phrase occurs in the *Gnomic Verses* (Cotton.), l. 2, in the passage (referring to Roman buildings) quoted above. Cf. also the *Wanderer*, l. 87 and n.

4. *Hrim geat torras.* The text is probably corrupt. Thorpe reads *hrim geat-torras berofen* ('The hoar gate-towers despoiled') but suggests an emendation to *hrimge* (*hrimige*)? *berofne*? Ettmüller, *hreorge torras*, *hrymgeat behrofen* (or *hrymgeatu behrofenu*). Klipstein, *hreorge torras hrimge torras berofene.* Grein[2], *hrungeat* ('balkentor,' 'gattertor') *-torras* (or merely *hrungeat*) *berofen.* Sieper emends to *hrumge* but gives no lit. transl. Schücking emends to *hringgeat* which he translates 'Ring-tor.'

5. *Scurbeorg(e)*, a ἅπ. λεγ., lit. 'protection against storms.' Some editors interpret this as meaning 'roofs' or buildings generally.

6. *Hafað...oþ...gewitan*, lit. 'has been holding...perished and gone... until (now)...have passed away.' This seems to me preferable to taking *gewitan* in a future sense.

7. *Waldend wyrhtan*; perhaps rather to be taken as parallel to such compounds as *wine-dryhten* than as a true dvandva (like *suhter-gefæderan* in *Beowulf*, l. 1164). Possibly however it should be read *waldend*, *wyrhtan*.

8. *Cnea* appears to be a non-W.S. form. Cf. *trea*, Ps. Vesp. 73, 5. Some editors, e.g. Sieper, Schücking, etc., emend to *cne[ow]a* for metrical reasons.

10. *Ræghar.* It is curious that most editors take the first element as coming from *ræge*, 'she-goat,' instead of from *ragu*, 'lichen.' Sieper (*Die altenglische Elegie*, p. 231) regards it as referring to the grey sandstone of which the Roman buildings of Bath were largely constructed.

readfah was thought by Earle to refer to the stains made on the stone by the oxide of iron contained in the mineral springs; but these stains would hardly reach the arches, and the word more probably refers to the prevailing colour of the internal walls, whether of bricks or mortar or painted plaster work. Cf. also *teaforgeapa*, l. 23. Cf. J. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, London, 1911, p. 283, etc. Cf. also the *Wanderer*, l. 98 n. The walls of the great bath-house were entirely lined with red plaster made of powdered Roman brick, which was afterwards polished. Much of this red plaster still remains adhering to the walls.

11. *Steap geap gedreas.* During the latter part of the Roman occupation the great bath appears to have had a vaulted roof, of which the fallen arch referred to in l. 1 above formed a part. Other fragments of the roof are still to be seen on the floor of the great bath.

geap. This word presents difficulties. The early editors took it to be a substantive (as also in l. 23); but no such word is recognised by the dictionaries, though (if Sieper is right in taking the vowel as short) we might compare O. N. *gap* in *Ginnungagap.* Cf. also the gloss

geap, 'cornas,' with Toller's remark (Suppl. *s.v. geap*), with which we may possibly compare late L. *corna*, 'angle.' 'Kirkland (*American Journal of Philology*, Vol. VII, 1886, p. 367 f.) suggests a wk. n. sing. *geapa* but does not translate.'

13. *Wirum*, perhaps the iron rods or cramps with which the Roman masons sometimes laced together the large stones of their masonry. Cf. J. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, p. 232 f.

14. *Burnsele*, i.e. presumably 'bathing chambers.' Cf. l. 31 ff.

17. *Op þæt*, etc. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 107.

19. *Secgrof*, a ἅπ. λεγ. B. and T. transl. '(death carried off) the host of men.' Cf. O.H.G. *ruaba*, 'numerus.' Gr. Koh. transl. *ense strenuus*, and add *-ra* (g. pl.).

23. *Teaforgeapa*. Cf. l. ix above and n. I have taken *teaforgeapa* as a compound adj. with most recent editors—Kluge, Sieper, Schücking, etc. Cf. Gr. Koh. *s.v.* *Teafor* is used to gloss *minium*, 'vermilion' or 'red ochre.' Cf. B. and T. *s.v.* The allusion is probably to the colour of Roman tiles or bricks.

tigelum sceadeð, etc. Cf. ll. 1 and 10, notes. The roof of the great bath appears to have been composed wholly of red tiles, many of which still lie about the sides and on the bottom of the bath.

24. *Hrostbeag*. See B. and T. *s.v.* Grein[2] reads *hrost-beages hrof*, 'the gable or summit of the woodwork of the roof,' translating *hrost-beag* as 'corona canterium'; so also Schücking. Kirkland (*Amer. Journ. of Philol.* VII, p. 367) and Sieper keep the MS. reading. The former translates *beages rof* as 'renowned for its treasures,' and *hrost* as 'roof,' [illegible] *wong*. I suspect a corruption of the text.

30. *Bradan rices*. *Burh* seems here to be used almost in the sense of 'capital' (cf. *Cantwara-burh*). This is preferable to taking *br. ri.* as a descriptive gen.

31. *Stream...wylme*, lit. 'a stream cast forth heat (noun, d. sing.) or hotly (adv.) in broad surge.' *Stream* may allude to the water rising from the springs, which at Bath are situated under the supply cistern close to the baths (cf. Haverfield in the *Vict. County Hist. of Somerset*, Vol. I, p. 244). This hot current is conveyed in a broad lead-lined [illegible] *Hist. of Somerset*, Vol. I, p. 240 f.

[illegible]

the reservoir to the great bath, whose 'grey stone' floor was covered with lead. L. xxxv clearly refers to the arrangements of the baths.

xxxii, xxxiii. *Hringmere*. If Bath is the scene of the *Ruin*, could this refer to the circular Roman bath excavated in 1885? Cf. Haverfield in the *Vict. County Hist. of Somerset*, Vol. I, p. 244. For the use of *mere* as applying to a cistern, see B. and T. *s.v.* III.

THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

2. *Beorn(a)*. Cf. the *Wanderer*, l. 70 n.

3. *Eadmund æþeling*. Under his brother Aethelstan he sometimes signs charters as *clito* or *frater regis*. He was afterwards king, 939—946.

5. *Brunnanburh*. The MSS. (with Symeon of Durham) have *Brunnan-*, but the first *n* is deleted in A. The other authorities have *Brunan-*. Cf. p. 60, n. 1 (with Sax. Chron. E, F).

Bordweal. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 2980; probably a military term expressive of the close ranks in which the warriors of the time fought, holding their shields before them. There is no evidence to show that the *bordweall* was formed of a line of locked shields, like the L. *testudo* with which it has sometimes been compared. The round wooden shields of the Anglo-Saxons, which appear to have been of no great strength apart from the iron bosses, were less suitable for such a purpose than the shields of the Romans. Cf. C. Oman, *A History of the Art of War* (London, 1898), p. 71, footnote 1.

6. *Hamora lafan*. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 2829, and the other references given by B. and T. *s.v. laf* II, especially Riddle 71, l. 3, '*eom wraþra laf, fyres and feole*,' '...the leaving of foes, of fire and of file.'

7. *Swa him*, etc. Cf. *Genesis*, l. 2771.

8. *Cneomægum*. The origin of the word is probably to be traced to the conception of grades of relationship as analogous to the joints of the human body. Cf. the Laws of Aethelred, VI, 12; North. Priests' Law 61. Cf. also the term *heafodmæg*, *Beowulf*, ll. 588, 2151; and *cneo*, in the *Ruin*, l. 8.

þa...ealgodon. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 4.

11. *Scipflotan*, i.e. Anlaf's forces which had come by sea from Dublin, described as *guma northerna* in l. 18.

12. *Feld dænnede*, etc. This difficult word has given rise to many conjectures which are enumerated and discussed by Tupper in the *Journal of Engl. and Germ. Philol.* Vol. II, 1912, p. 91 f. There can be little doubt that, as Price suggests, the word is identical with Norse *dynja*, 'to pour.' He translates 'the field flowed with warriors' blood.' Cf. *Njáls Saga* (Copenh. ed., 1772), ch. 176 '*dunði þá blóðit um hann allan*.'

15. *Glad ofer grundas*, etc. Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 2072, 2073, etc.; *rodores candel*, *ib.* 1572.

16, 17. *Oð...setle*. Cf. the *Heliand*, l. 2819.

18. *Garum ageted*. Cf. Kock, 'Jubilee Jaunts and Jottings' in *Lunds Universitets Årsskrift*, 1918, p. 1.

guma norþerna. In the Saxon Chronicle *Norþmen* seems regularly to

[illegible]

28 f. *Fife...cyninges giunge.* For details of the slain cf. Introduction, p. 61 above.

33. *Norðmanna bregu*, cf. Introduction, p. 62 above.

35. *Cread...flot*, lit '[illegible]
On flot (O. Norse *á flot*; [illegible]
to enable a ship to float.' [illegible]
occurs again in Riddle 4, [illegible]
against the cliffs. Cf. B. and T. *s.v. hopgehnæst.* Miss A. J. Robertson tells me that the same word occurs in the heading to cap. 2 of the Laws of Edgar I, MS. B, with a similar meaning. The word is not very rare in later times (in the sense 'to press, drive, or hasten on.' Cf. *N.E.D.* *s.v. Crowd* 2).

39 *Hreman ne þorfte.* Cf. ll. 44, 47. For the repetition Schucking compares the *Dream of the Rood*, ll. 35, 42, 45 (*Kleines angelsächsisches Dichterbuch*, Cothen, 1919, p 72).

40 *Maga sceard. Sceard, gefylled, beslagen* are all n. sing. referring to Constantine; but it is hardly possible to translate the passage literally.

[illegible]

47. *Hlehhan ne þorftun* Cf *Juliana*, l 526.

53. *Nægledcnearrum.* For this phrase cf. O. Sax. *negilid skip* and the parallel expression *nægledbord*, Riddle 59, l. 5; *Genesis*, l. 1433.

54. *Dinges mere.* The name is unexplained. It would seem to mean the Irish Sea or some portion of it.

60. *Letan him behindan*, etc. The eagle, raven, and wolf form part of the traditional epic features of the picture of a battle in A.S. poetry. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 3024 ff.; *Elene*, l. 110 ff. In *Judith*, l. 205 ff., the resemblance to this passage is so close that a literary connection between the two has been suggested by Cook (cf. *Judith*, Boston, 1904), p xxii.

61. *Saluwigpadan.* Cf. *Be Manna Wyrdum*, l. 37.

62. *Hasewan padan.* Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 4 (*hosfjaðri*).

63. *Earn æftan hwit*, no doubt the white-tailed eagle (*Haliaëtus albicilla*). As late as the early years of last century it nested in the N.W. of England and S.W. of Scotland, but now rarely breeds south of Shetland.

68. *Þæs þe us secgað bec.* Cf Sax. Chron. (A, B, C) *sub an.* 973, l. 14. The ref. to *Engle and Seaxe* (l. 70) comes ultimately no doubt from Bede, *H. E.* i, 15.

69 *Ealde uðwitan*, strictly in apposition to *bec*, lit. 'books, our ancient sages.'

THE HRAFNSMÁL

Note the following exceptional forms:
gjængr (Icel. *gengr*) str. 3, *síst* (Icel. *sýst* from *sýsla*), str. 13.

p. 78. *Vitinn...faðmbyggvi*, i.e. slain, those who died in battle being regarded as passing to Valhöll and at the same time as being sacrificed to Othin. It was not uncommon to dedicate an enemy's army to Othin before the commencement of a battle. Cf. the *Saga of Hrómund Greipsson*, ch. 2; *Saga of Hervör and Heithrek*, ch. 14; *Styrbjarnar þáttr*, ch. 2, etc. etc. Cf. also Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin* (London, 1899), p. 6 ff.

eineygja...faðmbyggvi, i.e. Othin. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 28, 29; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 15.

p. 79, 1. *Annat skulu.* Munch and Unger understand this strophe to be put in the mouth of some man of the Danish court expressing his contempt of Harold the Fairhaired, whom he has probably not hitherto known as a warlike king. They emend *þær* to *þeir* and take *ambáttir Ragnhildar* as voc.: transl. 'They shall have something else to relate over their cups, ye gallant dames, handmaidens of Ragnhildr, than that ye are battle-lynxes (i.e. wolves), whom Harold has (hitherto) stinted,' etc.

ambáttir Ragnhildar. Ragnhildr was the chief wife of Harold the Fairhaired, and was called *Ragnhildr in ríka.* She was the daughter of Eric, king of Jutland, and mother of Eric Blóðöx. It is said that when King Harold married her he put away nine of his other wives. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 21.

2. *Holmrygjum.* Cf. p. 188.
Hörða meyjum. Hörðaland was the district surrounding the Hardanger Fjord.
hverri...Heinversku. Heiðmörk (now *Hedemarken*) in the east of Norway.
Hölga ættar, i.e. the people of Hálogaland. For Hölgi (the husband or father of Thorgerðr Hölgabrúðr) see Saxo, Book III, p. 87; *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 44.
konungr enn kynstóri, i.e. King Harold. Cf. the *Battle of Hafsfjord*, str. 1.
konu Danska, i.e. Ragnhildr. Cf. str. above.

1. *Hlýði hringberendr*, lit. 'Let those who wear bracelets, torques, etc., hearken' (cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 623, 3017), or possibly 'who carry swords.' Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s. v.*

avarauðgha, i.e. *afar-*. So Munch and Unger, Wisén and F. Jónsson. Wisén (following in part the text of Munch and Unger in their *Læsebog*, Christiania, 1847) has conjecturally restored the text of the entire poem in *Carmina Norræna* (Lund, 1886), p. 11 ff. A more recent restoration of the text is that of F. Jónsson in his edition of the *Fagrskinna* (Copenhagen, 1902–3), pp. 6—12, footnotes.
frá málom...dæmde. The sentence does not seem to be strictly syntactical. The simple form of the sentence would be '*er mær...við hramn dæmde*'; but it is turned into a dependent clause by the introduction of the phrase *ek...hæyrði*, after which one would have expected an infinitive.

2. *Verar...kunni.* I have followed v. Friesen in emending *sva-* to

[illegible]

rocky waste' (cf. *Hýmiskviða*, str. 27); but more probably the expression is due to some lost myth.

á horne vinbjarga. [illegible]
Dict. *s.v.*) translates [illegible]
hömrum for *hornum* [illegible]
bjarg); von Friesen ([illegible]
vinbjarga to be for v[illegible]
valkyrie (cf. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* II, str. 4.

3. *Nær...liggja*, lit. 'Ye have passed the night, I think, where ye knew the dead were lying.'

4. *Húsfjaðri*, cf. *The Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 62.

5. *Í Krinnum*, unknown, perhaps in Hörðaland. Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v.*

djúpum ræðr, etc. For details of Scandinavian battleships in the [illegible]

6. *Freys...hæfja*, generally interpreted as 'fight'; but Freyr is not elsewhere a god of war. Cf. Vigfusson, Dict. *s.v.* *leikr*.

elldvelli, a ἅπ. λεγ. F. Jónsson translates 'baking,' 'warming (oneself?) by the fire.'

vattu. Vigfusson suggested 'pillows,' but gives no other reference for this use of the word.

[illegible]

8. *Húnum verpa.* The reference is to the game of *hnefataf*, also called *King Ítrek's Game*, which appears to have had certain features in common with chess, and which was played in Scandinavia and Iceland

till the introduction of the latter game, probably in the thirteenth century. It would seem that, like the Welsh *tawlbwrdd*, it was played between sides composed, the one of sixteen 'fair' (white) men, the other of a king (called *hnefi* or *húnn*) and eight 'dark' (black) men. Three of the riddles of Gestumblindi refer to this game (cf. *Hervarar Saga*, ch. 11). In one of these the *húnn* is described as 'that beast which slays people's flocks and is girt around with iron. It has eight horns, yet no head, and it runs when it can.' The answer is: 'That is the *húnn* in *hneftafl*. It has the same name as a bear. It runs as soon as it is thrown.' For further details see H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), Appendix I, 'Chess in Iceland,' pp. 443—446.

malme Húnlenzkum. Does this mean steel, or gold? F. Jónsson understands the latter, and compares *Vála malme* in *Hindluljóð*, str. 9. For Húnlenzkr cf. note to the *Battle of the Goths and Huns*, str. 2.

9. *Hömlur*, the strap in which the oar was secured, generally in small ships. It was itself fastened to a *hár* or upright-standing curved piece of wood, against which the oar worked.

10. *At skallda reiðo.* It is interesting to compare with this passage the position of the Welsh poets as set forth in the Welsh Laws. Cf. Wade-Evans, *Welsh Medieval Law* (Oxford, 1909), pp. 167 f., 179 f.

greppa ferðir. The meaning of this expression is not clear. Fritzner, Gering, etc. understand *greppr* to mean a warrior (cf. *garpr*). *ferðir greppa* would then mean 'the expeditions of his warriors.' Vígfusson, Wisén and F. Jónsson however understand *greppr* to mean 'a poet,' 'skald,' and *ferðir greppa* 'troops of poets.'

11. *Faghrrendaðom*, a doubtful form which does not occur elsewhere. Vígfusson emends to *-rendum* (cf. Dict. *s.v. fagr-rendr*). Von Friesen (following B) suggests *fáðom rondum*, 'with painted shields').

silfrvöfðum. Munch and Unger and F. Jónsson, 'wound round with silver thread.' Wisén 'argento revinctus.'

12. *Bersærkja.* Cf. p. 88 above; cf. also *Ynglinga Saga*, ch. 6; Du Chaillu, *The Viking Age* (London, 1889), Vol. II, p. 423 ff.

fenget. Munch and Unger, followed by Wisén, emend to *fagnið*. The former also read *þér* instead of *er*, following MS. B 1; translate 'How do you like the martial heroes,' etc.

13. *Áræðesmönnum*, etc. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 9.

í skjölld höggva, lit. 'strike upon the shield.'

14. *Œrgáti.* So F. Jónsson, who translates 'royal entertainment, amusement.' Munch and Unger emended to *örgan*, 'grimaces, gestures.' Wisén translated 'oblectamentum, quo hospites excipiuntur.'

Anndaðr. F. Jónsson suggests that the more correct form of the name would be Ǫnduðr, cf. German *Andahad*. In his opinion the juggler was undoubtedly a German; cf. Dict. *s.v. Andaðr*. Nothing is known of him; but in MS. R of *The Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*, ch. 11, the answer to the riddle about *King Ítrek's Game* reads 'þat er Ítrekr ok Andaðr, er þeir sitja at tafli sínu.' For a different explanation see M. Olsen, 'Til Haraldskvæði 23' in *Ark. f. nord. Filol.*, Vol. 27 (1914), p. 381 f.; cf. also *Maal og Minne*, 1913, p. 66 ff.

logandum húfum, etc. The latter half of this strophe is obscure. F. Jónsson understands the passage to refer to some conjuring trick. He regards *hafa sér* as equivalent to *hafask* (cf. *Lex. Poet. s.v. hafa*, 13, c). For *húfum* Vígfusson and Powell read *lúfum* and translate: 'The tripping fellows tuck their flaming shock-locks under their belts.'

THE BATTLE OF HAFSFJORD

1. *Í Hafrsfirði.* Hafsfjord is a small fjord on the west coast of Rogaland. Cf. p. 88 above.' Wisén and F. Jónsson appear to take *í Hafrsfirði* with the vocative and translate: 'You can hear in H. how,' etc.,

hverrir.. tinglum, cf. *Landnámabók*, IV, ch. 7. The battleships of the Viking Age were frequently elaborately carved, especially at the prow and stern, which generally took the form of the head of a dragon or other animal. Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 5 note.

2. *Hvítra skjalda.* According to F Jónsson the 'white' shields were foreign. Cf. *Glymdrápa*, str. 4.

vestranna, i e. 'from the British Isles.' The preceding seventy-five ... he British Isles, and by ... ion was settled there,

Valskra, prob 'from Valland,' i e. France, unless the word is a tradition from earlier (Roman) times. We may perhaps cf. the word *frakka* (spear) in *Rígsþula*, str. 35, A S. *franca*, if this word is derived from the name of the Franks (*Frakkar*, A S *Francan*). Cf. also *suþerne gar*, *Battle of Maldon*, l. 134.

berserkir. Cf. *Hrafnsmál*, str. 12 note.

á sinnum. Vigfusson, F. Jónsson, etc., translate 'was drawing to a close'; cf. *Rígsþula*, str. 31.

ulfheðnar, i.e. berserkir. Cf. Vigfusson, Dict. *s.v. berserkr.*

3. *Austmanna.* F. Jónsson takes this to mean Norwegians generally, in which sense the word is often used to distinguish the people of the homeland from those who had settled in the West. But is this sense really appropriate here? Harold's original kingdom was in the East, viz. Vestfold, near the Christiania Fjord.

Cf. p. 59 above. In this case we should perhaps (with Wisén and F. Jónsson) understand *h. í. Haf.* (str 1, l. 1) as an address to the audience.

stöðum...brá, lit. 'He set in motion the studs of Nökkvi' Nokkvi, according to F. Jónsson, is the name of a sea-king. Cf. *Hyndluljóð*, str. 20; *Thulur*, III, 1. One of the kings killed at the Battle of Sólskel was called Nökkvi. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 10.

stillir. So most editors, e.g. Munch and Unger, Nygaard, Wisén, etc. The latter omits *Nökkvi.* F. Jónsson omits, regarding it as a later addition. Cf. his edition of the *Heimskringla* (Copenhagen, 1893–1901), p. 124, footnote. Cf. also str. 1 above, n.

Haklangr, i.e. Thórir Haklangr, perhaps king of Agðir. Cf. p. 88 above, footnote 2.

4. *Lúfu*, i.e. Harold. The nickname was given to him in the early part of his career in consequence of a vow which he made not to cut or comb his hair till he was ruler of all Norway. Cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4. When the conditions were fulfilled he had his hair washed and combed, and was afterwards called 'Harold the Fairhaired' (*ib.* ch. 23).

hilmi enum halsdigra, F. Jónsson emends (cf. ed. 1913) to *hilmir enn halsdigri*; but *leiðask* is used impersonally elsewhere. Cf. Dict. *s.v.* The *hilmi* referred to is Kjötvi. According to F. Jónsson there is a touch of irony here and throughout the poem, e.g. *es þeim flæja kendi*, str. 3. He understands the meaning to be that although a bully (cf. his 'thick neck'), yet he showed no inclination, etc.

holm lét sér at skjaldi, i.e. (according to Munch and Unger, F. Jónsson, etc.) they landed and used the island as a vantage ground. According to the latter authority the *holmr* is a small island in Hafsfjord.

5. *Sváfnis salnæfrar*, lit. 'made Sváfnir's hall shingles to glitter on their backs'—an allusion to the shields with which the roof of Valhöll was thatched. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 9 (*skjöldum salr þakiþr*). *Næfrar*, strictly 'shingles of birchwood.' *Sváfnir*, a name of Othin, cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 54; *Thulur*, IV, 4.

hyggjandi, ironical according to F. Jónsson.

austr kylfur. Early editors (e.g. Munch and Unger, Nygaard, Wisén) printed *auðkylfur*, following MS. F, and translate 'rich men.' Vígfusson and F. Jónsson read *austkylfur* (*-ir* V.). The former translated 'easterlings,' and compared the *Kylfingar* east of the Baltic. F. Jónsson translates 'Eastern logs.' Cf. Dict. *s.v. austkylfa.* Cf. also note 4 *s.v. hilmi e. h.* above.

Jaðar(r), the district of Rogaland which juts out to the south of Hafsfjord, in the S.W. corner of Norway. The *Austkylfur* ('Eastern logs') are those of the confederates who had come from Agðir and Thelamörk.

hugðu á mjöðdrykkju. The passage seems to suggest that the author thought that the confederates in question were more keen on drinking than on fighting. Cf. also the terms (contemptuous?) *auðlagða*, *austkylfur*, and possibly *hilmir halsdigri.* It is to be borne in mind, however, that the poem is probably incomplete.

THE EIRÍKSMÁL

1. *Drauma.* Wisén, following MS. 757 of Snorri's Edda, reads *dæma*, 'What marvel is this?' In this case *hugðumk* should no doubt be translated 'I was intending to.'

firi dag litlu. Munch and Unger and Wisén, following the text of Snorri's *Edda*, have *fyr dag rísa*, '(I thought I was) rising before day.'

Valhǫll, lit. 'the abode of warriors who have died in battle.' Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 8; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 20, 36, 38—41. *riðja*: Icel. *ryðja*.

borðker. Wisén and F. Jónsson translate 'table service' or 'plate.' *lyðra*: Icel. *leyðra*.

valkyrjur vín bera. Cf. *Gylfaginning*, ch. 36, where the valkyries are said to attend to the mugs and table service as well as to the pouring out of the wine.

svá. F. Jónsson takes *svá* with *glatt*; but does it not rather mean 'under these circumstances'?

2. *Hvat þrymr*, etc. Most editors (e.g. Munch and Unger, Wisén, F. Jónsson, Holthausen, etc.) divide this strophe between Othin and Bragi, assigning ll. 1 and 2 to the former, and ll. 3 and 4 to the latter. It may be observed however that Bragi's answer does not seem to be particularly appropriate to the question, nor does str. 3 harmonise well with the opening lines of str. 2, if the latter is spoken by Othin. Possibly there is a corruption in l. 1; in the original text the whole

Balldr. For the fullest account of Balder's death, cf. *Gylfaginning*, ch. 49.

í Óðins sale, i.e. *Valhǫll*, cf. str. 1 above.

3. *Scallt þu*. Munch and Unger emend to *skalattu*; so also Wisén; Nygaard, *skaltu*; Holthausen (1896) and F Jónsson (1913) *skalatt*. Cannot *scallt* be used here to express a suggestion in the mind of the speaker? Cf. the use of *skal* in Modern Danish.

þú at, so MSS. (*þóat*) followed by Nygaard. Munch and Unger emended to *þríat*; Wisén, Holthausen and F. Jónsson (1913) to *þrít*. The emended texts would translate 'Thou must not talk folly, thou wise Bragi,—for thou knowest everything well.'

4. ... gmundr and Sinfjötli see ... gmundr was the father ... *Hundingsbana*, and of the still more famous Sigurðr, the hero of several poems of the *Edda*.

5. *Því at margu lannde*, etc. For Eric's adventures, cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 34 f.

6. *Því...goða*. For the phrase *því . vita*, cf. *Hávamál*, str. 38. The passage seems to be anacoluthic The sentence 'It cannot be known (when)—' being cut short by a new idea, 'the wolf is (even now) gazing,' etc.

ulfr, i.e. the wolf of Fenrir, cf. *Hákonarmál*, str 20, note.

7. *Val...kominn!* Cf. *Fjǫlsvinnsmál*, str. 48

8. *Konongar eru V*. For the fall of Eric and the five kings cf. the *Saga of Hákon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 4.

THE HÁKONARMÁL

1. *Göndul ok Skögul* (also Geirskögul, cf. str. 12) are valkyries whom Othin appoints to decide the course of the battle. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 31; *Grímnismál*, str. 36, etc.

Gautatýr. *Gautr*, *Váfǫðr* (cf. str. 5) and *Hroptatýr* (cf. str. 14) are all names applied by Othin to himself in *Grímnismál*, str. 54. *Gautatýr* would seem originally to have meant the god (cf. *tívar*, pl.) of the Gautar, i.e. the inhabitants of Götaland in the south of Sweden, the *Geatas* of *Beowulf*. The word is also extended to mean men in general. Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v.* Cf. also *Darraðarljóð*, str. 8, note; *Sonatorrek*, str. 21.

Yngvi is a surname of Freyr, from whom the royal family of Norway claimed descent. The genealogy is given in *Ynglingatal* and *Ynglingasaga*. *at*, adv. cf. *atvist*.

2. *Bróður...Bjarnar*, i.e. King Haakon. Björn, son of Harold the Fairhaired and Svanhildr (cf. the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired—Heimskringla*, ch. 21), who was made ruler of Vestfold under his father (cf. *ib.* ch. 33), fell at the hands of Eric Blóðöx, his brother, at Sæheimr (cf. *ib.* ch. 35). He was called Björn the Merchant on account of his trading interests. Cf. also *Egils Saga*, ch. 56, 59.

í brynju fara, so Vígfusson and F. Jónsson, cf. Dicts. *s.v. fara*. Cf. also F. Jónsson's edition of the *Heimskringla* (Copenhagen, 1893–1901), Vol. IV, p. 54. This sense does not seem to me to agree very well with str. 4 however. Possibly we may translate 'marching in coat of mail.' The reading of F should not be overlooked.

dolgráar, em. Holthausen; so also F. Jónsson (cf. Dict. *s.v. dolgrǫ́*), who translates 'battle-yardarm,' 'battle-rod,' 'spear.' Cf. however *ib.* *s.v. dolgǫ́r*, which he translates as 'battle-oar,' 'sword.' The latter (pl. *dolgárar*) is the reading kept by most editors, e.g. Nygaard (*Udvalg af den Norröne Literatur*, Bergen, 1875, p. 320), Wisén (*Carmina Norræna*, Lund, 1886, p. 16), Wimmer (*Oldnordiske Læsebog*[4], Copenhagen, 1889, p. 2), following MS. J (1). Unger (*Heimskringla*, Christiania, 1868, p. 104) keeps the text of the *Fagrskinna*, *dólgar*, transl. 'battle,' 'strife.' So also Munch and Unger (*Oldnorsk Læsebog*, Christiania, 1847, p. 115).

3. *Hét*. F. Jónsson translates 'had called upon.'

Háleygi, i.e. the men of Hálogaland, the northern province of ancient Norway, corresponding approximately to the modern Nordland.

Holmrygi, i.e. the men of Rogaland in the south-west of Norway. Cf. p. 79 above. The name is identical with that of the *Rugii* (A.S. *Holmryge*, Jordanes' *Ulmrugii*) on the coast of Pomerania.

einbani. F. Jónsson understands this to mean that Haakon had made his conquests alone, without foreign help. Vígfusson regards *ein-* as intensive.

gjöfli, so Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, etc., following MSS. J (1), A; Unger gives *göfgi*, following MSS. K, B. F. Jónsson quotes this passage under both words in his Dict.

gengi Norðmanna. Cf. the *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 18, note *s.v. guma norþerna*.

Eydana (gen.), lit. 'Danes of the Isles.' Cf. the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 6—9.

4. *Hrauzk ór herváðum*, etc. From the *Saga of Haakon the Good*, chs. 6 and 30, it would seem to have been Haakon's custom to cast off his helmet and mail coat before beginning to fight. Cf. str. 2 above, note.

[illegible]

Cf. also *Atlakviða*, str. 4.

[illegible]

skringla), ch. 43.

siklingr, strictly an old dynastic name, but, like other names of this kind, used by poets for 'king' or 'prince' in general. Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 63; *Hversu Noregr Byggðist*, ch. 2.

váðir Váfaðar, i.e. armour. *Váfoðr* is Othin. Cf. *Thulur*, IV, 5 (*Váfuðr*).

sem.. brygði. For the same expression cf. *Gongu-Hrólfs Saga*, ch. 3; *Hrólfs Saga Gautrekssonar*, ch. 20. Cf. also Olrik, *Heroic Legends*, etc. pp. 131, 175 (transl. Hollander).

glymhringar. F. Jónsson adopts the reading of MS. J., *gylfringar*, which he translates 'sword,' and suggests a possible connection with *gjalfr*. Cf. Dict. s.v. *gylfringr*.

gotna (g. pl.), an ancient name of a people (the Goths) which has come to be used merely for men. Cf. str. 1, note s.v. *Gautatýr*.

6. *Troddusk torgur*, etc. Strophes 6—8 are difficult owing to the number of kennings contained in them. The natural order of the words appears to me to be *torgur ok hausar troddusk fyr harðfótum bauga Týs Norðmanna*. *Bauga Týr*, lit. 'the god who gives rings' or 'money,' a kenning for king. So also Nygaard, Wimmer, Holthausen, etc. F. Jónsson, however, holds that *torgur* and *hausar* are asyndetic, and that *Norðmanna* can hardly be explained otherwise than as parallel to *bauga Týs*. He regards the position of *ok* as supporting this view.

hjalta harðfótum, lit. 'the sharp feet of the hilt,' i.e. the sword-blade.

í eyju, i.e. the island (Stordö), the scene of the battle. Cf. p. 101 above.

konungar, perhaps poet. pl. for sing. Cf. however the reading of F

[illegible]

swords are called *fires of blood* or *of wounds*.'

langbarðar, 'swords' according to Wisén, F. Jónsson and Holthausen, 'halberds' according to Nygaard and Wimmer. According to the *Saga of Hakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 28, Hakon was armed with a halberd (*kesja*), as well as with a sword. For a description of the *kesja* see *Egils Saga*, ch. 53.

svarraði, ἅπ. λεγ., lit. 'a gymir (myth. personification of the sea) of wounds roared (?) against the headland of swords.'

á sverða nesi. Most editors (e.g. Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, F. Jónsson, etc.) take this as a kenning for 'shield,' on the analogy of such expressions as *knúta nes*, *bauga nes*, *nes orma*, etc. I have taken it to mean 'point of the sword' on analogy with the conception of *nes* as the projecting part of the object specified in the preceding genitive. Cf. the kenning *hryggjar nes*, 'tail.'

flóð fleina, lit. 'flood of (i.e. from) darts,' a kenning for blood. Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v. flóð*. Other kennings for blood are *hjör flóð*, *hræ flóð*, *sar flóð*, *unda flóð*.

8. *Blendusk við roðnum*, etc. So F. Jónsson, Holthausen, etc. Unger, Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, etc., following K, have *roðnar* for *roðnum* and *skýs* for *ský* (when the order would be *veðr Sköglar skýs*), translate 'Battle (the storms of the shield [Skögul's cloud]) was joined (mingled) beneath the canopy of the reddened shield, it (they) played around the rims.'

Sköglar veðr, *Óthins veðr(i)* (cf. I. iii), kennings for 'battle.' Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 47, 63 (verse); *Háttatal*, str. 54.

baugr, here, 'shield,' originally (according to *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 48) the circle painted on the shield.

oddlár, lit. 'waves from the spears,' i.e. blood.

fyr mækis straumi, a kenning for 'blood.'

9. *Döglingar*, an old dynastic name like *siklingar* (cf. str. 5). Cf. *Hversu Noregr Bygðist*, ch. 2. This is probably another instance of poet. pl. for sing., referring to the king alone.

ok, used as a relative particle. Cf. *Vafþrúþnismál*, str. 5, etc.

skotnar. So Unger, F. Jónsson, Holthausen, etc., following MS. K. Nygaard, Wisén, Wimmer, etc. give *skornar*, 'rent,' following MS. F.

10. *es Hákoni*, etc. Lit. 'Since the Divine Powers have invited Haakon with a great host.'

bönd. The original meaning of the term *bönd* (cf. *Hávamál*, str. 108) is uncertain. The fact that *höpt* is also used of the deities (*Atlakviða*, str. 28) points to identity with 'band,' 'chain.'

13. *Grænna heima goða*. Cf. *Gautrekssaga*, ch. 7.

14. *Hermóðr* is the name of the messenger of the Æsir who rode to Hel to seek out Balder and try to ransom him. Cf. *Gylfaginning*, ch. 49. The Hermóðr mentioned in *Hyndluljóð*, str. 2, is probably a different person—heroic, not divine—to be identified with the Heremod who is mentioned in connection with Sigemund in *Beowulf*, l. 901 ff. It is uncertain which of the two is intended here. Bragi (see below) is a god; but, on the other hand, the part played by these two persons is clearly suggested by that given to Sigmundr and Sinfjötli in *Eiríksmál*, str. 4.

Hroptatýr. Cf. str. 1, *s.v. Gautatýr*, note. Hroptr is also a name for Othin. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 8.

sás kappi þykkir, etc. The translation implies that Othin knows who Haakon is. It is possible to translate the passage otherwise, viz. 'who is evidently a hero,' the implication being in this case that Othin has not identified him.

16. *Einherja(r)*, the name given to the dead warriors in Valhöll who spend their days in fighting. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 18; *Vafþrúþnismál*, str. 41; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 38—41.

þigg þú...öl, etc. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 36; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 39.

átta bræðr. For a list (incomplete however) of Harold's sons, cf. *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 21.

17. *Gótt es*, etc. Lit. '(It is good) to reach for what is ready.' Unger, following MSS. F, J (1), gives *geirs* for *görs*, transl. 'spear.'

18—21. *Þá þat kyndisk*, etc. There is no doubt a contrast implied here between the happy days of King Haakon and those of Harold

Greycloak, in whose reign the poem was composed. Haakon, though a Christian, never enforced Christianity on his subjects, but let them worship in their own way, thereby offering a strong contrast to Harold and his brothers. Cf. p. 102 f. above. The ill-suppressed hostility of Eyvindr to Harold is no doubt further to be accounted for by the quarrel between them which is related in the *Saga of Harold Greycloak* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 1.

20. *Fenrisulfr.* Cf. *Eiríksmál*, str. 6. The wolf of Fenrir was one of

in Norway under Haakon's successors. Cf. the *Saga of Harold Greycloak*, ch. 17.

THE DARRAÐARLJÓÐ

rignir blóði, perhaps from the loom. Cf. the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 183 f. With the passage from *Njálssaga* it is interesting to compare *Sturlunga Saga*, pp. 219, 220 (Vigfusson, Oxford, 1878):

. . . dreams. . . . aside sat . . . seemed to . . . One of the women sang:

> Let us rock, Guðr and Göndul, let us rock;
> A rain of blood is falling, foreboding slaughter.
> We must betake ourselves to Rapta-hlíð;
> There sacrifice and oaths will be offered to us.'

readings *þar* (E, F) *þar er* (A, I)—perhaps orig. *þá er* through wrong connection with *verþjóðar*—seems to be necessary. Heusler suggests that the original reading may have been (*er*) *vér rinur fyllum*, though he has *er þar rinur fylla* in his text, but the usual emendation to *sás* (*sá er*) is simpler.

...ur...*Randvés bana*. The phrase is not easy to explain, though ...can be no doubt that the whole is a kenning for valkyries. ...son, F. Jónsson, etc., take *Randvés bani* to be Jörmunrekr ...menric), who, at the instigation of his evil counsellor Bikki, ordered ...son Randverr to be hanged. (Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 41; Saxo ...mmaticus, VIII, pp 336—338, where Randvér is called Broderus.) ...gnússon (*op. cit.* p. 15) and Bugge (*Aarbøger*, etc., 1899, pp. 253–4) ...e *Randvés bani* to be Bikki himself by whom they understand ...human personation of Othin. The only other person of any conse-...uence bearing this name is Randvér, the son of Raþbarþr and Auþr ...he Deep-minded (cf. *Hyndluljóð*, str. 29), and father of Sigurðr Hring, ...*Hversu Noregr Bygðist*, ch. 3). In *Hervarar Saga*, ch. 16, he is said to be ...the son of Valdarr. According to *ib.* MS. I, he is said to have married Ása, ...the daughter of King Harold en Gotrauði from Norway, and to have made himself king of Denmark on the death of his father Valdarr. He is also said in the same source to have fallen in England by a sudden death—'*Randverr konungr varð bráðdauðr*.' The name Randver also occurs in the list of sea kings in *Thulur*, str. 4.

It is not known which Randvér is referred to in our poem. In all probability the text is corrupt. It will be seen that the MSS. vary considerably, but the other readings hardly give an intelligible sense. Pfeiffer keeps the reading of MS. E. Dietrich reads *randversk*.

2. *vefr*, the threads stretched taut from the cloth-beam (*rifr*). For *vefr*, *skaft* etc., cf. p. 119 above. In weaving, the woof threads are passed between the warp threads. These warp threads hang downwards and are weighted at the bottom. In the old primitive hand-loom the weights (*klé*) were formed of stones and attached to the ends of the threads.

harðkljáðr...manna. The *Jómsvíkinga Saga* (ed. Petersen, Copenhagen, 1882) p. 41 contains a passage—no doubt based on the first two strophes of this poem—in which Ingibjörg relates her dream to Pálner as follows:

'I dreamed that I had set up a loom, and the warp was of flax and grey in colour; I dreamed that the warp was weighted, and I stood beside it and wove, and there was not much of it woven as far as I could see. And when I sleyed the web, a weight fell from the middle of the loom, and I picked it up; and then I saw that the weights were nothing but human heads.'

eru dreyrrekin...sköftum. The *skaft* is one of the bars or rods ('heddles') with which the threads of the yarn (i.e. the warp) were alternately brought forward and thrust back, so that the weft might be inserted through the intervening space or 'shed.' The rod having been placed in this position was so left during the passage of one strand o... weft across the loom. Vígfusson explains the word as 'one of the beam... in the upright loom,' but this is clearly erroneous; cf. *yllir* (*ib.*) fo... which he offers the same explanation.

yllir. The exact meaning of this word is unknown. Magnúss... following Vígfusson, understands it to be a 'beam in the upright loo... and suggests the 'forebeam,' by which he means presumably the lo... beam over which hang the weighted ends of the warp. The Scandina... upright loom appears, however, to have had only one beam (*rifr*). ... Paul's *Grundriss d. germ. Phil.* (Strassburg, 1900), Vol. III, p. 47... word is explained as an implement used for making plush, i.e. a... of teasel, and as being derived from *ull*, 'wool'—the derivatio... favoured by Vígfusson.

Ok...*fylgjum*, or perhaps 'We will afterwards aid.'
ingi. Cf. Introduction, p. 116 above.
gna, so F. Jónsson, Heusler, Ásmundarson, etc., following the
dation of Thorkelsson and Gíslason. MSS. E, F read *þar sia*
nar. *Bragnar* is a poetical word for warriors, only used in this
e in the pl. Cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v.* Magnússon, however, follow-
MS. A, reads *þar sá bera*, which involves no emendation, and trans-
es 'There Gunnr and Göndul saw borne (saw men bear) bloody
ields.'

Gunnr ok Göndul, names of valkyries. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1 and
ote. *Gunnr* is another form of *Guðr*, mentioned in *Völuspá*, str. 31,
tc. The name first occurs in the Runic Inscription of Rök.

6. *Þars vé vaða*. It is interesting to note that Earl Sigurðr was slain bearing the famous Raven Banner given to him by his witch mother with the words: 'It will bring victory to those before whom it is borne, but speedy death to him who bears it' (*Orkneyinga Saga*, ch. 11). With this passage we may compare the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill*, p. 155 f.: 'King Brian looked out behind him and beheld...the lucky, fortunate banner that had gained the victory in every battle and in every conflict and in every combat.'

vé...vígra manna. I have taken this as poet. pl. for sing., referring to the 'young king.' This interpretation is suggested by the following line, though the passage may of course be taken otherwise. Cf. note to *farask* below.

látum eigi, etc. F. Jónsson and Magnússon treat *látum* as imper., 'Let us not,' etc.

farask. Dietrich, followed by Pfeiffer, emended the reading of MS. F (*her*) *svaraz* to *sparaz*, 'be spared.' In this case the reference would be general, and *vígra manna* would have the true plural sense.

eigu valkyrjur, etc. So F. Jónsson in his edition. In the Dict., however, he takes *vals um kostum* as 'prospect of slaughter.' Magnússon understands *kostr* in its primary sense of 'choice,' and translates 'among the doomed our choice is ample' ['and therefore we can afford to spare him']. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 14.

7. *Þeir munu lýðir*, etc. refers to the Norse settlers in the British Isles, probably with special reference to Ireland. The extent to which they occupied the coasts is shown by the large number of place-names which have survived, e.g. Waterford, Wexford, Howth, etc.

útskaga. According to Fritzner and Vígfusson *skagi* denotes a low-lying headland, e.g. the Skaw in the north of Jutland, as opposed to *höfuð*, a high headland, e.g. Howth.

ríkjum gram. According to F. Jónsson the reference here is to th death of Brian Borumh; but is it not more natural to connect l. 3 wi l. 4 which presumably refers to Earl Sigurðr? Cf. p. 116 above.

8. *Ok munu Írar*, etc. The reference here is probably to the de of Brian Borumh. Cf. however p. 116 above.

ýtum. *Ýtar* was originally a national name (like *Gotar*, etc.; below) identical with Bede's *Iuti*, a variant of *Jótar*, but preserve poetry in the sense of 'men' after its proper meaning had been forgo Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, note *s.v. Gautatýr*.

nús vefr ofinn, etc. The connection between the chanting and we of the spell and the course of the battle is here clearly indicated.

læspjöll gota, lit. 'news of the destruction of men.' So F. J and Heusler. Magnússon translates 'the news of the loss

Y [illegible]
G [illegible]
t [illegible]

[illegible]
gotten. Cf. *ýtum* above.

[illegible] str. 2, l. 2.
[illegible] nsiderably in their readings
[illegible] ich, Pfeiffer, Egilsson and
[illegible] E, F—*spár vérar springa*
[illegible] e. 'come true' (the metaphor in *springa* being taken from the chips of divination); *springa*, however, is not used in this sense elsewhere. Heusler himself suggests as an

[illegible]

emend to *ljóð* (as in l. 2) in place of *hljóð*, since 'spells' rather than tunes seems to give the sense required.

11. *Ríðum hestum*, etc. Heusler suggests that two lines have been lost after l. 1.

THE SONATORREK, ETC.

Egill's Poems (pp. 129, 130)

1. *Þundar. Þundr* is Othin (cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 54), and *Þundar gnýr* a periphrasis for 'battle.'

grær. If we are to believe that these strophes were composed by Egill immediately after the battle, *grær* must be taken as fut., and *hlóðk* in str. 2 rendered by 'I have covered' etc.

2. *Fyr merkistangir*, lit. 'in front of the pole on which the standard is carried.'

Aðils, one of the jarls who opposed Aethelstan. With his brand he slew Thórólfr. He was himself slain in the same battle by Egill. Cf. ch. 54.

Naðri. Naðr, i.e. 'Viper,' 'Adder,' was the name of Egill's sword. Cf. ch. 53. Cf. also the *Battle of the Goths and the Huns*, str. 9, note s.v. *Tyrfingr*.

Álafr, i.e. Olaf the Red. Cf. p. 126 ff. above.

Hringr, one of the jarls who fought against Aethelstan's army. Cf. note to the poem on Aethelstan, s.v. *þrja jofra* below.

Foldgnárr. The meaning is unknown. In his ed. of Egilsson's Dictionary Finnur Jónsson suggests the emend. to *fald-gná*, which he takes with *hjaldr*, the whole expression meaning 'the goddess of the battle-headgear,' i.e. the valkyrie. Then *hjaldr-fald-gnáarsnerrandi* would mean 'strengthener of the valkyrie,' or 'of battle,' i.e. warrior.

Ellu, i.e. Ælla, the usurping Northumbrian king who reigned 863–867 and who, according to Norse tradition, captured and put to death Ragnarr Loðbrók. The description of Aethelstan as *nið Ellu* would not seem to be a particularly happy one.

höfuðbaðmr. This word occurs again in *Arinbjarnarkviða*, str. 17, where it appears to mean 'grandson.'

þría jöfra. The saga itself would suggest that the 'three princes' were Olaf, Hringr and Aðils; but the true history of the struggle has become altogether distorted in Norse tradition, and we are not in a position to say who were the princes referred to by the poet. Olaf himself was not killed in Aethelstan's lifetime.

hyrjar hrannbrjótr, for *hrann-hyrjar-brjótr*, lit. 'the distributor of the fire of the wave,' i.e. 'of gold'—a common poetic periphrasis.

hæst...hreinbraut, lit. 'the highest path of the reindeer,' a metaphor doubtless borrowed from the mountain ridges of Norway—though there were reindeer in Scotland long after this time.

THE SONATORREK

1. *Mjök erum*, etc. The opening of the poem is far from clear. I have followed the reading of M and W, though I do not understand *loftátt*. Presumably it is either a kenning for 'mind' or 'mouth,' or else a term descriptive of the stock (type) of poem required. Most editors emend the reading of K to *loftvægi* (which they translate 'pendent weight') and for *prúðara* read *pundara*, understanding the passage as a metaphor from the steelyard. Cf. Vígfusson and F. Jónsson, Dicts. *s.v.* Cf. also B. M. Ólsen, 'Versene i Egils Saga' in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi*, Vol. xv (1903), p. 125.

erum, era. These apparently are the forms used by M and W. In the remaining strophes I have in general used the forms printed in V. Ásmundarson's edition, though I have substituted *um* for *of*, since the former appears to be the form used in the MSS.; but owing to the absence of a satisfactory critical edition it is very difficult to ascertain the exact forms used in the MSS. for the most part.

era...þýfi, lit. 'The stolen property of Othin is not to be looked for.' *Víþurr* is one of Othin's names (cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 49) and *Víþurs þýfi* is poetry. Othin is said to have stolen the mead *Óðrærir* from the giant Suttungr and given it to the Æsir, whence comes poetic inspiration to the Æsir and to men. Cf. *Bragaræður* (*Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 1).

2. *Fagnafundr...niðja*, i.e. poetry. Cf. str. 1, note to *Víðurs þýfi*. *F. niðja*, i.e. the Æsir; here Othin. Frigg is the wife of Othin. Cf. the prose at the beginning of *Lokasenna*, and str. 26 *ib.* Cf. also the strophe on p. 78 above and note.

árborinn ór Jötunheimum. Cf. str. 1, note. *Jötunheimar* is the abode of 'giants' (*jötnar*). Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 8; *Prose Edda, pass.*

3. *Lastalauss*, etc. The meaning of the first half of this strophe is obscure, owing apparently to textual corruption in l. 2. Cf. F. Jónsson, note to the passage in the edition of 1894 (Halle), p. 303, and V. Ásmundarson, ed. of *Egils Saga* (Reykjavík, 1910), p. 305 n.

Eagi. Cf. *Eiríksmál*, str. 2, note.

jötuns hals undir, etc., lit. 'The (blood of the) wounds of the giant's neck are roaring,' etc. The giant is Ymir, and the blood which flows from his wounds is the sea. Cf. *Vafþrúðnismál*, str. 21; *Grímnismál*, str. 40; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 48.

naustdurum, lit. 'the doors of the boat-house.' F. Jónsson thinks that the allusion is probably to the barrow constructed for Egill's kinsmen, perhaps because it stood beside the sea (on Digranes). Cf. str. 25, note to *á nesi*. Cf. also *Egils Saga*, ch. 78.

4. *Hrabarnar.* Early editors, e.g. Dietrich and Pfeiffer, kept the reading of K; Wisén emended to *lígir*. V. Ásmundarson (Reykjavík, 1910) prints *hrabarina*, agreeing with *hlmir* (cf. note below); Vig- [illegible]

[illegible] editors, e.g. Dietrich and Pfeiffer, print *hlimar*, which they translate 'branches.' [illegible] vocabulary. [illegible] lates 'bough[illegible] gives *hlmir*, [illegible] altered his te[illegible] further B. M. [illegible]

6. *Í frændgarði*, lit. 'in the courtyard or dwelling made of relatives,' i.e. the sea has made a breach in the defences offered by many kinsfolk. The *frændr* are thought of as forming a wall or barrier round Egill.

7. *Rán*, the wife of Ægir, identified with the sea. Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 25; *Völsungasaga*, ch. 14. She and her husband are spirits of the sea. She was said to have a net in which she caught those who were drowned. Cf. *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 33; also prose at the beginning of *Reginsmál*.

rysk. The meaning of the word is uncertain. Elsewhere it is only used reflexively, in the sense of to be 'struck, broken.'

ástrinum, probably poet. pl. for sing.

8. *Sok...sótak*, lit. 'prosecute (my) suit.'

ölsmið. The *ölsmiðr*, 'beer-brewer,' is Ægir, the husband of Rán, who was said to have brewed ale for the Æsir. Cf. *Hymiskviða*, str. 1—3, 43; *Grímnismál*, str. 45; also the prose introduction to *Lokasenna*.

allri tima. I have followed F. Jónsson in the interpretation of this phrase which does not appear to occur elsewhere. Cf. Wisén, *Carmina Norræna*, p. 129.

Ægis mani, i.e. Ægir's bride, viz. Rán (cf. str. 7 above, note), here perhaps used of the sea generally.

10. *míns...áttar skjoldr*, lit. 'my shield of the race.'

aldr, lit. 'bereft of life, dead.' Cf. M. Ólsen, *Ark. f. Nord. Filol.*, Vol. xxxi (1915), p. 142.

11. *Randviðr*, lit. 'shield tree,' a kenning for 'warrior.'

Hergautr is a name for Othin. *Gautr* is one of the names by which Othin calls himself in *Grímnismál*, str. 54, cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, n. F. Jónsson (who apparently takes *hendr* as acc., and *tekr* as 3 sing.), regards the name here as a kenning for 'warrior,' and suggests usz...

taki, 'until he came to a warrior's estate, became a full-grown doughty warrior.' He suggests however that the text may possibly be corrupt. Cf. Dict. *s.v.* Vígfusson and Powell translate 'till the hands of the Lord of Hosts gathered him,' i.e. 'until he had been slain in battle.'

13. *Ma biarnar*, unintelligible. F. Jónsson suggests *mána brúðar*, and translates *m. b. byrvind* as 'favourable breeze of the giantess,' which is supposed to be a periphrasis for 'soul,' 'mind.' Vígfusson and Powell emend *m. b.* to *Arinbiarnar*. Cf. note below *s.v. bræðra leysi*.

bræðra leysi, lit. 'lack of (the) brothers.' Egill here seems to refer for the first time to the fact that he has lost two sons. This at least seems more natural than to suppose that he should be deploring the fact that he had no brothers of his own. His only brother Thórólfr had perished probably more than thirty years before. Vígfusson and Powell read *bræðrahleyti*, and translate *Arinbiarnar* (cf. note above) *b. hl.* as 'Arinbiorn's foster-brotherhood.'

hildr. It is not clear whether the reference is to 'battle' or to 'litigation,' 'quarrel.'

14. *Óðræði*, so F. Jónsson. Cf. Dict. *s.v.* Vígfusson, however (cf. Dict. *s.v.*), understands 'counsel of wisdom,' or 'a council (!),' and translates the passage 'what other man shall stand by my side, as a friend, in the council?' i.e. 'where am I now to look for friendly help and comfort?'

of her giaurum. This half line is obviously corrupt. Rask reads *ef* for *of*. Transcript 252 reads *gor-* for *giau-*.

varfleygr, so F. Jónsson (cf. Dict. *s.v.*). Vígfusson (Dict. *s.v.*) translates 'faltering in flight.'

15. *Mjök...selr*. This strophe is obscure throughout. *Elgjar galga*, inexplicable according to F. Jónsson (cf. Dict. *s.v.*). Ásmundarson suggested that it might mean 'country,' i.e. Iceland (*Egils Saga*, ed. Reykjavík, 1910, p. 306). Wisén also understood the word to refer to Iceland (cf. *Carmina Norræna*, Lund, 1886, Vol. II, p. 54, *s.v. elgr*). For a different interpretation cf. Vígfusson, Dict. *s.v.*

niflgóðr...selr. The meaning is uncertain. For a discussion of the word cf. F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v. niflgóðr*. Cf. also Valdimar Ásmundarson, *loc. cit.*

niðja steypir, etc. It is difficult to believe that this can mean that only one who is a disgrace to his relatives will consent to receive wergild for his brother; the meaning of *steypir* itself, however, is quite uncertain.

17. *Né þann nið*. The text can hardly be correct since the MS. reading does not fulfil the alliteration. The adopted son is spoken of not in relation to the poet, but to the son whom he has lost.

nið...maðr, lit. (as) a relative (him) who is a man born to another.

18. *Býskips*. F. Jónsson emends to *býskeiðs*, 'the path of the bee,' i.e. 'air' or 'sky.' Dietrich, followed by Pfeiffer and Wisén, understood *býskip* as 'ship of the bee, or bees,' to which they attribute the same meaning. Valdimar Ásmundarson translates 'air,' 'air-dwelling,' 'heaven.' But is it not possible that the word is identical with the modern 'beeskip,' i.e. hive (used, especially in dialects, of the old-fashioned domed straw hives), the reference being in all probability to the family barrow in which Böðvarr was laid?

kynnis. The reference is no doubt to the members of the family who have died previously.

19 *Hrosta hilmir*, i.e. Ægir; cf. str. 8, note. *Hrosti*, the malt brew in the brewer's vat from which the plants have been extracted. Wisén emended *hilmir* to *vorðr*, F. Jónsson to *hǫfundr*; so also V. Ásmundarson, *loc. cit.* For various suggestions by early editors see Wisén, *Carmina Norræna* (Lund, 1886), Vol. I, p. 130.

á hendi standr. V. Ásmundarson compares the idioms *liggja á hálsi*, *standa á sporði*.

í árbir grímu, obscure. Wisén emended to *óro gr.* and translated 'noctem inquietam.' F. Jónsson omits from his Dict.

rýnis (F. Jónsson *rýnnis*), lit. 'knowledge of runes.' *r. reið*, 'the head' (F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v.*). Vigfusson translated 'scrutiny,' 'contemplation,' and *r. reið*, 'the breast' (cf. Dict. *s.v. rýni*).

20. *Sun minn*, i.e. Gunnarr, who appears to have died of sickness. Cf. p. 132 above. *Sóttar brími*, lit. 'fire of sickness.'

námali. The MS. has *námali* which, according to B. M. Ólsen, would mean (indulging in) 'censuring speech.' The alliteration requires *rámali* (i.e. the censure of other people), as suggested by Ólsen in *Arkiv f. nord. Filol.*, Vol. XIX, p. 133.

21. *Upp...í Goðheim.* Cf. Introduction, p. 133 above.

Gauta spjalli, i.e. Othin, lit. 'friend of the Gautar.' *Spjalli* is one who converses as a confidential friend. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, note *s.v. Gautatýr.*

ask, lit. 'ash-tree.'

22. *Geira dróttin*, i.e. Othin, who is generally represented as armed with a spear. Cf. *Hávamál*, str. 138; *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 9, etc. For further references, cf. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin* (Cambridge, 1899), p. 6 ff.

[illegible]

Atlakviða en Grœnlenzka, str. 32; cf. also *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 6; the *Saga of Haakon the Good* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 14, etc.

23. *Bróður Vilis*, i.e. Othin. Cf. *Lokasenna*, str. 26, *Gylfaginning*, ch. 6.

Míms vinr, i.e. Othin. Cf. *Voluspá*, str. 46; *Sigrdrífumál*, str. 14; *Ynglingasaga*, ch. 4, etc.; *Háttatal*, in str. 3.

es et betra tell. F. Jónsson translates 'als das bessere (als einen Segen).' But is a comparison necessarily implied?

[illegible]

25. *Tveggja bága*, i.e. Fenrisulfr. Cf. str. 23 above, note. *Tveggi* is Othin. Cf. *Voluspá*, str 63. Cf also F. Jónsson, Dict. *s.v. Tveggi.*

njorvanift. Most editors (e.g. Wisén, F. Jónsson, V. Ásmundarson) take this to mean 'full sister.' *Nift* can refer to any female relative. [illegible] *lausn*, str 10; and *nift* [illegible] I, str. 4 The sister of [illegible] *Gylfaginning*, ch. 34. [illegible] headland (Digranes) on [illegible] note *s.v. naustdurum.*

THE BATTLE OF THE GOTHS AND THE HUNS

1. *Ár kváðu*, etc. Some editors (e.g. Vígfusson and Powell, Heusler etc.) believe that this strophe is part of a separate catalogue poem Cf. Heusler, *Eddica Minora*, p. lxxxviii f. Heinzel, however, appears to regard it as forming the introduction to our poem. Cf. 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 500.

Humla. For the names *Humli* and *Hlöðr* we may cf. *Humblus* and *Lotherus*, the sons of Dan, the first king of the Danes; cf. Saxo, Book I, p. 16. Cf. also p. 143 f. above. For a discussion of the various suggestions which have been made regarding the former name cf. Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' pp. 461 ff., 490 ff. Cf. also V. Jagič, 'Slavisches in nordischen Sagen,' *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, 1888, p. 307.

Gizur. *Gizurr Grýtingaliði* is the name of one of Angantýr's vassals mentioned below in the prose following str. 12. Cf. note *s.v.* He is perhaps the person referred to here. It was observed by Rafn (*Antiquités russes*, Copenhagen, 1850, Vol. I, p. 113), that he plays the same part as Eric in the version of the story given by Saxo, Book V, pp. 190 f., 194 f. Cf. also Heinzel, 'Ueber die Hervararsaga,' p. 496 f.

Gautum (nom. *Gautar*), the inhabitants of southern Sweden. Cf. *Hákonarmál*, str. 1, note *s.v. Gautatýr*.

Angantý. I have discussed elsewhere (*Stories and Ballads of the Far Past*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 82) the confusion with regard to Angantýr in the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*. Cf. further, Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 494 ff.

Valdar. A Valdarr, ruler of the Danes, is mentioned also in *Guðrúnarkviða* II, str. 20, and in the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrekr*, ch. 16, but no story is known of him. The name is of course identical with A.S. *Waldhere*. The hero of the latter story is associated with France, however, never with the Danes. Cf. for further references, Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

Völum Kiar. *Valar* is the general term used for Celtic peoples (including the Romans) in all Teutonic languages. In *Kiarr* it is natural to see *Caesar* (cf. *Widsith*, l. 76); but the loss of *s* requires explanation, and the name has given rise to some discussion. Cf. Bugge, *Arkiv*, XXVI, p. 58 f.; Heusler, *Eddica Minora*, p. LXXXIX; Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 501 ff. The form would seem to have come through an intermediate language. Heusler points out that the metre requires some such form as *Caesar*, and Heinzel regards the word as identical in origin with the *Sisar* in *Gautreks Saga*, ch. 4 (in a verse), 'a form borrowed through Russian.' He further compares this form with the titles *cjesari* and *cisari* preserved by Russian princes as late as the twelfth century. For further references cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 7; *Völundarkviða*, prose at beginning and str. 16; *Flateyjarbók*, Vol. I, p. 25; *Skáldskaparmál*, ch. 64.

Alrek. For a detailed discussion of the variant readings and suggested identifications cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 507—512.

2. *Hlöðr*. Cf. Introduction, p. 143 f. above.

þar...í Húnalandi, according to Heinzel an unfamiliar idiom in Norse poetry (cf. p. 142 above). It occurs however in prose, e.g. in the *Jómsvíkinga Saga*, ch. 6 (*Forn-Manna Sögur*, Vol. XI, p. 19), *þar í Danmörk*. The variations in the MS. readings here (p. 148, footnote 6) should not be overlooked.

í Húnalandi. Here the reference is obviously to the land occupied by the Huns at the time—which we must no doubt place somewhere

Húnlendr is simply a kenning for gold.

sari ol með sverði. The Saga explains: 'There was an old saying at that time that a man was "born with weapons or horses." And the explanation is that it referred to the weapons which were being forged at the time when the man was born; also to any sheep...and horses that were born about the same time. These were all given to high-born men as an honour to them.'

hringreifðum. Bugge translates 'richly decorated with rings,' and compares *Atlakviða*, str. 42. F. Jónsson translates 'supplied with a ring,' but suggests that the word may have arisen from a misunderstanding of *hringgreypr*, 'surrounded by a ring or border.' Cf. *arin greypo*, *Atlakviða*, str. 1 and Sijmons (*Die Lieder der Edda*, Halle, 1906, p. 424, note).

d...helgu, so Vigfusson, F. Jónsson etc. Bugge (cf. *Hervarar Saga*, p. 362) however regards *mork* as a vague term for a district with natural boundaries ('not a forest'), and *m. h.* as the 'place where the king's residence together with the chief temple was situated.'

3.

of He

and I

Oddrúnargrátr.

á Árheima. *Árheimar* is unidentified. Cf. p. 144 above. Cf also Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 482 f.

4. *Segg...úti*, etc. With the arrival of Hloðr at Árheimar we may cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 1 ff.; *Beowulf*, ll. 331—370.

síðforlan seems somewhat pointless. Can it be an unobservant scribe's emendation of *síðforull*?

5. *Beðslammi*, a ἅπ. λεγ. Bugge emends to *boðslái*, and translates 'warlike.' Cf. *herskár*, *vígskár*.

6. *Rymr vas i ranni.* Cf. *Hamðismál*, str. 18, 24; *Atlakviða*, str

Jordanes, ch. XXXVI.

Angantýr. Bugge com-

... employs

poet. sing. for pl.

einum. So F. Jónsson; Bugge suggests 'unique.'

8. *Hris þat et mæra.* The allusions throughout this strophe are obscure. The word *hris* is generally used of a smaller thing

5,

... King Dan was buried, and that the

stone was the *Danæryg* on the top of which, according to the Chronicle of Leire (cf. p. 203), he had been crowned king. Cf. also Saxo, Book I, p. 16. In the Rígsþula, str. 49, 'Dan' is mentioned together with 'Danpr,' which is there clearly regarded as a personal name; see below. Cf. also Munch, *Norske Folks Hist.*, p. 248, note; S. Bugge, *Hervarar Saga ok Heiðreks*, p. 362. For other suggestions cf. Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 478 f. Heinzel, however, who places Reiðgotaland, the scene of the poem, in southern Russia, takes the phrase in connection with *stein þann enn fagra,* and regards both as referring to the famous Cell of Kiev, which St Antonius hewed out with his own hand and where the Byzantine Church was built 1073–1089. The *gröf* would then be either the grave of Antonius himself, or the famous rock tomb of Askold who was slain by Oleg in 882. It seems to me difficult to believe that this is the place referred to, but I cannot suggest any explanation of either *gröf* or *stein.*

Gotþjóðu. This name occurs in the fragmentary Gothic Calendar, (October 23), which celebrates 'the many martyrs among the Gothic people' (*ana Gutþiudai*).

á stöðum Danpar. Cf. *Atlakviða*, str. 5 (*staði Danpar*); *Rígsþula*, str. 49 (*Danpr*). Cf. also Bugge's note in his edition of the *Edda*, p. 149 f.; Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 472 ff.; V. Jagič, *Arch. für Slav. Philol.* Vol. XI, p. 305 f.; etc. The *Rígsþula* gives *Danpr* as a personal name, and the *Atlakviða* also must have understood it in the same sense; but there can be little doubt that this expression originally meant 'on the shores of the Dniepr.' Cf. Gothic *ana staþa* (d. sg.), A.S. *stæþ*. *Danaper* was the Gothic name for the Dniepr; cf. Jordanes, ch. 5. Heinzel (p. 479) thinks that the locality here referred to is Kiev, on the Dniepr (see above).

9. *Kaldr geirr.* Cf. *Beowulf*, ll. 3021, 3022.

Tyrfing(r). The famous sword forged by the dwarfs for King Svafrlami, and the heirloom of his family. Cf. the *Saga of Hervör and Heiðrek*, ch. 2. The history of the sword forms the connecting thread of the saga. It has been suggested that the name is derived from *tyrfi*, 'resinous fir-tree,' owing to its flaming like resinous fir-wood. F. Jónsson (Dict. *s.v.*), less probably, regards it as connected with 'turf' because it lay so long in the earth, or as equivalent to 'earth found.' For swords called by names ending in *-ing* cf. *Hrunting* in *Beowulf*, l. 1457; *Nægling*, *ib.* l. 2680; *Mimming*, *Waldhere*, l. 3, etc. etc. The custom of calling swords by personal names is found in Celtic as well as Teutonic records. Cf. the sword *Hipiclaur* 'worth seventy cows' mentioned as being given by Guengarth to one Conmogoy in the record of a donation quoted by Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales* (London, 1904), p. 222.

10. *Skalka.* Cf. p. 143 above. Cf. also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 363. Heinzel's suggestion quoted on p. 143 can hardly be correct; for the Old Irish loan-word *scoloca* (Gael. *sgalag*), 'a servant,' shows that *skalkr* must have had this meaning in Norse during the Viking Age.

11. *Áðr á.* I have followed Bugge's emendation with some doubt. *Áðr átti* would be slightly nearer the MS. readings.

12. *Mun ek um þik*, etc. Cf. Waltharius, ll. 405—407:

'Hunc ego mox auro vestirem sepe recocto,
Et tellure quidem stantem hinc inde onerarem,
Atque viam penitus clausissem vivo talentis.'

According to the Frankish Chronicle Theodoric imposes on the Visigoths as a penalty for having deceived the Franks 'ut veniret

p. 147, *ib.*
friðjung Goþþjóðar. According to Langobardic Law a legitimate son inherited two thirds of his father's estate, a natural son one third.

identical. Trebellius Pollio refers to the *Trutungi* in *Claudius* 6 (i.e. probably *Grut(h)ungi*, cf. Claudii Salmasii *In Trebellium Pollionem*

13. *þýjar...þýjar.* Cf. *Sigurðarkviða en skamma*, str 17; *Ásmundar Saga Kappabana*, ch. 9 (in a strophe).

á haugi. Cf. 'The Chronicle of Leire,' Langebek, *Script. Rer. Danicarum*, i, p. 224 (cf. *ib.*, p. 223, footnote) After the victory over the Germans the Danes 'carried him [Dan] to the stone which is called *Danarygh* and placed him on the top of it, and gave him the title of King.' The most interesting instance of the practice of sitting on a mound occurs in the *Saga of Harold the Fairhaired* (*Heimskringla*), ch. 8, where it is definitely associated with kingship. We may cf.
r instances occur
ne *Saga of Olaf*
n the *Mabinogion*
old that he who
t 'without either
' Cf. *Helgakviða*
Bugge, *Hervarar*
n *Danske Studier*,
1909, p. 1 ff.; B. S. Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda*, p. 189.

ǫðlingr, i.e., according to Bugge, Angantýr, as opposed to *hornungr*.

14. *Drella ok dœna.* Cf *Rígsþula*, str. 31, *Sigurðarkviða*, str 2 Cf. also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 364.

dýrar veigar. Cf. *Hyndluljóð*, str. 51; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* ii, str. 45.

dyrfliga, so MSS. The text cannot be correct since alliteration is wanting According to Bugge *dyrfliga* is not used in early poetry of this kind.

fram bera. Cf. *Beowulf*, l. 291.

15. *Rammlega*. Here again alliteration is wanting in all the MSS. For the phrase *hildi heyja* cf. *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, str. 54, *Beowulf*, l. 425 f. etc. Bugge emends to *randir knýja* (from *Halfs Saga*, ch. 15).

tólfvetra. I have followed Bugge in taking this as gen. pl. of a compound adj., lit. 'with a host of (men) twelve years old (and upwards).'

16. *Ríða...bera*, lit. 'ride and bring my shield to,' i.e. 'accompany,' 'support.' Bugge suggests that a number of words have been omitted after *bera*.

Gota þjóðum. The poem had no doubt originally the earlier form *Gotna* (*þjóðum*) which is generally used in the *Edda*. Cf. *Grímnismál*, str. 2; *Grípesspá*, str. 35; *Atlakviða*, str. 20; *Guðrúnarhvöt*, str. 2; *Hamðismál*, str. 3, 22, 30. Cf. A.S. *Gotena*, *Widsith*, ll. 89, 109 etc.

17. *Sviðin*. Is a conflagration implied, or does *sviðinn* refer to the enemy's camp fires? Cf. Saxo, Book V, p. 194.

Myrkviðar heiðr. Cf. str. 8, note *s.v. Myrkviðr*. For the form *heiðr*, having the sense of 'forest,' cf. Welsh *coed*; possibly also the *Silva Cæsia* of Tacitus, *Annals*, I, 50. For the meaning cf. A.S. *fyrgen*—with Go. *fairguni*; and A.S. *weald* with Northern mod. Engl. dial. *wold*; (cf. O.N. *völlr*—where the meaning is different again).

18. *Yðra þegna*. *yðra*, i.e. 'your and her': cf. *þína*, l. 2 above.

19. *Brúðar gangi*. According to Vígfusson (Dict., *s.v.*) this expression was used in Christian times for the bridal procession of women, first to and from the church, then from the bride's room to the *stofa*, where the wedding feast was held. Cf. Landstad, *Norske Folkeviser* (Christiania, 1853), Vol. III, p. 406, str. 12 and footnote 2; Vol. V, p. 854, str. 3 and footnote 2. Cf. also Bugge, *Hervarar Saga*, p. 365 f.

21. *Þann*. Bugge emends to *mann*. Possibly the poem originally had *þann mann*; but I do not think that it is practicable to restore the original words.

22. *Eyris*. In view of the following line it is just possible that the word *eyrir* may here preserve its original meaning 'gold coin' rather than 'ounce' (of silver).

skjallanda. Vígfusson and Powell suggest the emendation to *skillinga*. Bugge, however, understands by *skjal. skarfr* a piece of gold of sufficient weight to ring when thrown into a shield or bowl. *Skarfr* means a piece 'cut.' Cf. Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, *s.v. scarv*, m. 2; Fritzner, *Oldn. Ordbog*, *s.v. skjallr*. We may cf. the tribute mentioned by Saxo (Book VIII, p. 359) as paid by the Frisians to the Danes. For further references cf. Bugge, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

24. *At Dylgju*, etc. The places mentioned in this strophe are unidentified. Cf. p. 146 above, cf. also Heinzel, *op. cit.*, p. 481 ff.

á Dúnheiði. Heinzel suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 484) that this may mean the basin of the Danube. The Danube is referred to as *Dúná* in *Heilagra Manna Sögur*, I, p. 303. It is scarcely likely, however, that this region should be mentioned here—especially in a place-name derived from the Slavonic form of the river.

á...Jössurfjöllum, lit. 'on all the mountains of Jössurr.' Cf. however str. 26. For the variant forms cf. Heinzel, p. 484 f.

25. *Gnæfar...gunnfani*. Cf. *Hárbarðsljóð*, str. 40.

25. *Hrase...hrorju.* The MS.
general sense of the passage nec
yðr and emends *hrorju* to *hrerr.*
of Sighva
The non.
(as by V
to think
hrorju; c.
Beowulf, ll. 277 (*hrafyl*), 2488, and for the general [illegible]
l. 1042; *Ruin*, l. 18.

Iðti ræl...Æan Ajúga. The dedication of an enemy's army to Othin before a battle appears to have been a common practice. Cf. *Völuspá*, str. 24; *Stýrbjarnar Þáttr*, ch. 2; *Eyrbyggja Saga*, ch. 44, etc.

27. *Árheimum.* Cf. str. 3, note.

28. *mikit es*, so MSS. Bugge compares *Helgakviða Hundingsbana*, I, str. 52 and writes

mikit er
mengi þeira.

[illegible]
fore that the author of the Saga misunderstood the numbers given in the poem.

t. s.v.),
gsbula,
, but a

31. *Dómr Norna.* Cf. *Fáfnismál*, str. 11, 12. The norns were represented in Norse mythology as women with the power of shaping human destiny. Cf. *Reginsmál*, str. 2; *Helgakviða Hundingsbana* I, str. 2; *Gylfaginning*, ch. 15, 16; Saxo Grammaticus, *Dan. Hist.* Book VI, p. 223. The conception is similar in many respects to that of the Greek *Moirai*.

APPENDIX

The list[1] of donations made by Bishop Leofric to the ecclesiastical library at Exeter is as follows:

Her swutelaþ on þissere Cristes bec hwæt Leofric B̄ hæfþ gedon innto sancte Petres minstre on Exanceastre þær his bisceop-stol is. Ðæt is þæt he hæfþ geinnod þæt ær geutod þær þurh Godes fultum and þurh his forespræce 7 þurh his gærsuma. Ðæt is ærost þæt land æt Culmstoke and þæt land æt Brancescumbe and æt Sealtcumbe 7 þæt land æt sancte Maria circean and þæt land æt Stofordtune and æt Sweartan wille and þæt land æt Morceshille and Sidefullan hiwisc 7 þæt land æt Brihtricestane (and þæt land æt Toppeshame ðeah ðe Harold hit mid unlage utnam[2]) 7 þæt land æt Stoce 7 þæt land æt Sydebirig 7 þæt land æt Niwantune 7 æt Norðtune (7 þæt lande æt Clift þe wid hæfde[3]).

Ðonne ys þis se eaca on landum þæt he hæfð of his agenum þæt mynster mid gegodod for his hlaforda sawlum and for his agenre þam Godes þeowum to bigleafan þe for heora sawlum þingian sceolan, þæt is ærost þæt land æt Bemtune, 7 æt Esttune 7 æt Ceommenige 7 þæt land æt Dollisc 7 æt Holacumbe 7 æt Sudwuda, 7 he ne funde þa he to þam mynstre feng nan mare landes ðe ðider ynn gehylde wære ðonne twa hida landes æt Ide, and ðæron næs orfcynnes nan mare buton VI[4] hruþeru.

Ðonne ys þis seo oncnawennis þe he hæfþ God mid gecnawen 7 sanctum Petrum into þam halgan mynstre on circlicum madmum, þæt is, þæt he hæfþ þider ynn gedon II b̄ roda 7 II mycele gebonede roda butan oþrum litlum silfrenum swur rodum 7 II mycele Cristes bec gebonede 7 III gebonede scrin 7 I geboned altare 7 V silfrene caliceas 7 IV corporales 7 I silfren pipe 7 V fulle mæssereaf 7 II dalmatica 7 III pistel roccas 7 IV subdiacones handlin 7 III cantercæppa 7 III canter stafas 7 V pællene weofod sceatas 7 VII ofer[5] brædelsas 7 II tæppedu 7 III bera scin 7 VII setl hrægel 7 III ricg-hrægel 7 II wahræft 7 VI mæsene sceala 7 II gebonede hnæppas 7 IV hornas 7 II mycele gebonede candelsticcan 7 VI læssan candelsticcan gebonede, 7 I silfren stor cylle mid silfrenum

[1] The list here given is based on that which is bound in the covers of the *Exeter Book* (cf. p. xii above). It appears that several copies of this list have been made at different periods for important libraries. A paper copy (C), no doubt made in the sixteenth century in a hand which has carefully copied that of the eleventh century list, is to be found in MS. 101 (f. 62) of the library given by Archbishop Parker to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Further copies are MS. Auct. D. ii, 16, fol. 1*a*—2*b*, in the Bodleian, Oxford, and MS. Harl. 258, fol. 125 *b* in the British Museum. The list was first printed by Dugdale in *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655, cf. ed. of 1846, Vol. II, p. 527) and was reprinted again by J. M. Kemble in *Codex Diplomaticus aevi Saxonici* (London, 1839—1848), Vol. IV, pp. 274—276 (No. 940). Extracts have also been published by Wanley in Hickes's *Thesaurus* (London, 1705), Vol. II, pp. 80, 279 f.; by Conybeare in *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (London, 1826), p. 199 f.; F. E. Warren in *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883), p. xxi; T. Wright in *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period (London, 1842—1846), pp. 38, 39; etc.

[2] *and...utnam* interlinear gloss added later.

[3] *7...hædde* interlinear gloss added later. [4] VII Bodl. [5] *of* Bodl.

APPENDIX

...ræticcan[1] 7 VIII lædas 7 II guþfana 7 I merc 7 VI mid[2] roca 7 I firdwæn I cyrte; 7 þær næron ær buton VII upp-hangene bella 7 nu þær synd XIV[3] upp-hangene 7 XII hand-bella 7 II fulle mæsse bec 7 I collectaneum 7 II pistel bec 7 II fulle sang-bec 7 I niht-sang 7 I Ad te levavi 7 I Trofere[4] 7 se þriddan Saltere swa man singð on Rome 7 II Ymneras 7 I deorwyrðe Bletsing-boc 7 III oþre 7 I Englisc Xpes-boc 7 II Sumer-ræding bec, 7 I winter ræding-boc 7 Regula Canonicorum 7 Martiro-logium 7 I Canon on Læden[5] 7 I Scrift-boc on Englisc 7 I full Spel-boc wintres 7 sumeres 7 Boeties boc on Englisc 7 I *mycel Englisc boc be gehwylcum þingum on Leoðwisan geworht* 7 he ne funde on þam mynstre þa he to feng Boca na ma butan ane Capitularie 7 I forealdodne Niht-sang 7 I Pistol-boc 7 II forealdode Ræding-bec swiþe wake 7 I wac Mæs-seal. 7 þas fela Leden boca he beget innto þam mynstre: Liber Pasto-ralis 7 Liber Dialogorum 7 libri IV Prophetarum 7 liber Boetii de Con-solatione 7 Isagoge Porphirii 7 I Passionalis 7 liber Prosperi 7 liber Prudentii Psicomachie 7 liber Prudentii ymnorum 7 liber Prudentii de Martyribus 7 liber Ezechielis Prophetae 7 Cantica Canticorum 7 liber Isaie Prophetæ on sundron 7 liber Isidori Ethimologiarum 7 Passiones Apostolorum 7 Expositio Bedæ super Evangelium Lucæ 7 Expositio Bede super Apocalipsin 7 expositio Bede super VII Epistolas Canonicas 7 liber Isidori de novo 7 veteri Testamento 7 liber Isidori de miraculis Xpi 7 liber Oratii 7 liber Machabeorum 7 liber Persii 7 Sedulies boc 7 liber [illegible] ...chorum 7 Glosæ Statii 7 liber Officialis

[illegible]

þæt þa boces [illegible] heora gebedum and mæsse[illegible] eallum þam halgum þe þæt halige minster is fore gena[illegible] beo Gode þe anfengre. 7 se ðe ðas gyfu 7 þisne unnan wille Gode 7 sancte Petre ætbredan si him heofena rice ætbroden and si he ecelice gemþerod into helle wite.

[1] *sticcan* Bodl. [2] *und* Corp. [3] XIII Bodl. [4] *7 II Salteras 7 se þr.* etc Bodl. [5] *leden* Bodl